

THE HISTORIE of Quintus Cur-

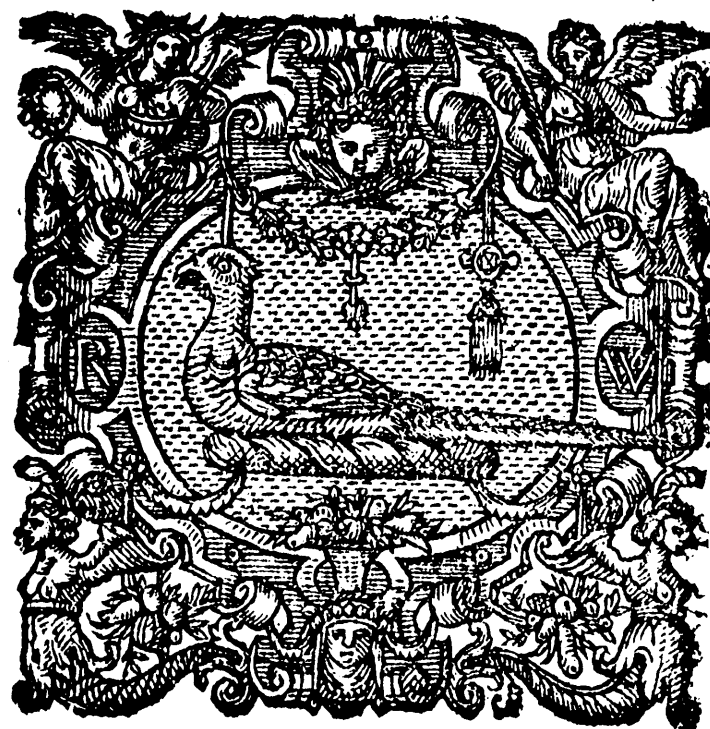
tius, conteining the actes

of the great Alexander, translated

out of Latin into Englishe

by Iohn Brende.

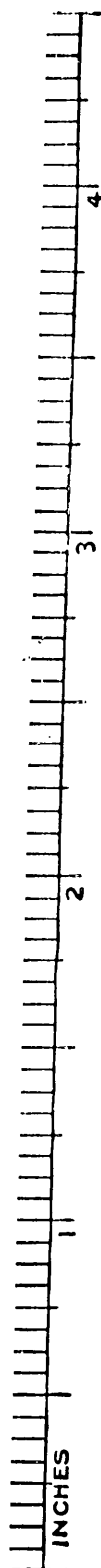
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In ædibus Rogeri Warde.

Anno Domini,

1584.



**¶ TO THE RIGHT HIGH
AND MIGHTIE PRINCE, IOHN**
Duke of Northumberland, Earle marshall of
England, &c. **IOHN BRENDE** wi-
sheth continuall prosperitie, with
encrease of honour,



Any haue writtē, and
experience besides decla-
reth, how necessary Hi-
storicall knowledge is to
all kinde of men, but spe-
cially to Princes and to
others whiche excell in
dignity or beare authori-
ty in any common weale:
the same being counted
the most excellent kind of
knowledge, the chiefest
part of ciuill prudence, and the mirrour of mans lyfe.
There is required in all magistrates both a faith and
feare in God, and also an outward pollicy in worldly
thinges, whereof as the one is to be learned by the
Scriptures, so the other must chiefly be gathered by
reading of Histories. For in them men may see the
grounds & beginnings of common wealthes, the cau-
ses of their increase, of their prosperous maintenance,
and good preservation, and againe by what meanes
they decreased, decayed, and came to ruine. Where the
vertues and vices of men doe appeare, howe by theyr
good doinges they flourished, and by their euill actes
they decayed. Howe they prospered so long, as they
maintained iustice, persecuted vice, vsed clemency and
mercy, were liberall, religious, vertuous, and boyd of
couctousnesse: And contrariwise how they fell to ma-
nifold calamities, miseries, and troubles, when they
embraced vice, and forsooke vertue. In histories it is
apparant how dangerous it is to begin alterations in
A.ij. a som.

The preface.

a common wealth. Howe eunie, and hatreds oft rising
vpon small causes, haue bene the destruction of greate
kingdomes. And the disobeyers of higher powers, and
such as rebelled against magistrates, neuer escaped pu-
nishment, nor came to good ende. In them there be pre-
cepts for all cases that may happen, in folowing the
good, in eschuing the euill, in auoiding inconueniences,
and in folowing mischiefes. In them may bee learned
how to temper in prosperitie, howe to endure in aduer-
sitie, and after what maner men should vse themselves,
both in time of peace and warre. As in all artes there
be certaine principles and rules for men to folowe, so
in histories there bee ensamples painted out of all kind
of vertues, wherein both the dignitie of vertue & foul-
nes of vice appeareth much more liuely then in any mo-
rall teaching: there being expressed by waye of exam-
ple, all that Philosophie teacheth by waye of precepts.
This is such a kinde of knowledge, as maketh merne
apte euen with small experience either to gouerne in
publike matters, or in their owne priuate affaires: For
by comparing thinges past with thinges present, men
may easily gather what is to be folowed, and what is
to bee eschued. And he which can reade them wyth
such iudgement, weighing the times with the causes
and occasion: of thinges, shall both for most deepe lie in
all matters, best declare his opinion, and winne most
estimation of prudence and wisdom. For if aged
men bee esteemed for the wisest by reason of their expe-
rience: Or if Homer painted forth in the person of
Ulysses the Image of a perfecte wise man: imputing
the cause thereof to the knowledge he had gathered by
trauailing many countreyes, and by viewing and mar-
king the customs and maners of diuers nations: Then
such as bee well expert in histories, and by the well
applying of them, can take the due fruite pertaining
to the same: must needs obteyne profoundnesse of
iudgement, with a stable and grounded wisdom.
For in them men may beholde as it were before their
eyes, both the whole worlde, and the gouernement
thereof, with the policies, and Lawes, the Discipline,
customes, and maners of all people from the begin-
ning.

This

The Preface.

This is such a thing, that whosoever is cleerely boord
of it, though he be endued with neuer so great witte o-
therwise, with such aptnes of nature, or other goodly
vertues: Yet when he shall haue to do in weighing af-
fares, he shall finde a certaine maine and imperfectio
not onely in ciuill gouernment, but also in matters per-
taining to the warre.

For although in an excellent Capitaine nature must
giue the chiefest partes, that is to say, hardines, stout-
nes of stomacke, with a naturall wisdom and vnder-
standing (by which qualities onely (experience there-
unto adioined) diuers haue become famous capitains)
Yet this is a thing that giueth a greater policie, groun-
deth a deeper iudgement, addeth a further ornament &
glorie, and fourmeth a perfectnes and an excellencie in
a shorter space.

The shortnes of a mans life shortened besides by so
manie casualties, is the cause that men be taken away
before they can gette such an actuall experience as may
make them perfecte, and commonly become rotten, be-
fore they can attaine to a ripenesse in knowledge. But
by this kinde of learning in youth a man is become a-
ged, he hath knowledge without experience, he is wise
before it is looked for, hee is become a Counsellour
the first youte, and a man of warre the first daye.

The same thing hath bene verified in many, which
in young age haue bene prudent Counsellors, and in
small experience politique Capitaines. Alexander here
of is an euident example, who brought vp vnder Ari-
stotles learning, and so giuen to this kinde of studie,
that he had Homer alwaies layde vnder his beds head,
(whereby he might be admonished of the vertues and
office of an excellent Prince) entred into his kingdom
when he was but twentie yeeres of age: and neuerthe-
lesse both establisshed his owne estate with suche pru-
dence, that within short space (besides the enlarging
of his owne boundes) he subdued the greatest parte of
the worlde. And albeit he began so young, and continu-
ed so small time: yet no mans actes bee comparable to
his: being counted the moste excellent Capitaine
from the beginning. But if any man will impute the

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great

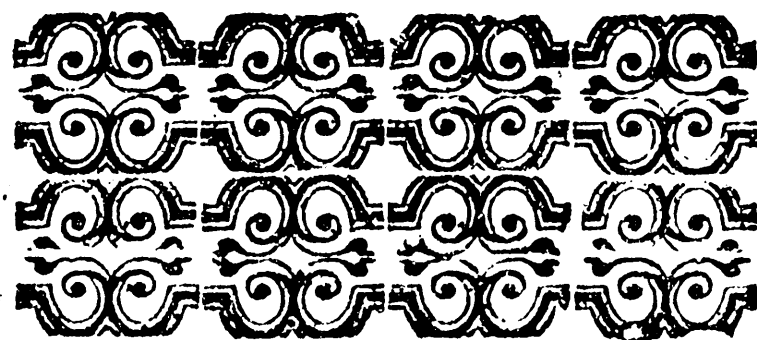
The preface.

greatnesse of his doinges to the perfect discipline the Macedones vsed in the warres, and to the politicke Captaine, and expert souldiers, left to him by his father Philip: it shall appeare evidently by the decay of realmes when they haue bene gouerned by imprudent Princes, and by the ouerthrowes the Romaines receiued when they were conducted by euill Captaynes, that no prudence of counsellours can take place, nor any discipline or experience of the souldiers can auayle, if the head be not a man of excellent vertue. There is nothing new vnder the sunne (as the wise man saith) and it is impossible for any thing to chaunce eyther in the warre or in common pollicie, but that the lyke may be founde to haue chaunced in times past. All which thinges layd vp in memory, as in place of store: men may alwaies be furnished for all chaunces that may occurre. Seeing histories be then so good and necessarie, it were muche requisite for mens instruction, that they were translated into suche tongues as most men might vnderstand them: and specially the histories of antiquitie, which both for the greatnesse of the actes done in those daies, and for the excellency of the writers, haue much maiestie and many ensamples of vertue. I therefore hauing alwaies desired that wee Englishmen might be found as forwarde in that behalfe as other nations, whiche haue brought all worthy histories into their naturall language, did (a fewe yeares past) attempt the translation of Quintus Curtius, and lately (vppon an occasion) performed and accomplished the same. Whiche Authour treating of the acts of the great Alexander, being figured in the Prophetes, Ieremie and Daniell, and mentioned in the first book of the Machabies, seeme to haue bene borne, and brought forth into the worlde, not without a most speciall prouidence and predestination of God: who prospered so his proceedings that (as Iustine writeth) he neuer encountered with any enemies whome he overcame not, he besieged no Citie that he wan not, nor assailed nation that he subdued not. This so worthy a matter I thought good to dedicate vnto your Grace, following their ensample that haue trauelled in the like study, which are wont to declare their good willes,

The Preface.

willes, by bestowing of their labours.

Whereunto I was also moued the rather, by considering the qualities of your Grace, whiche seeme to haue certaine affinitie and resemblance with such as were the verie vertues in Alexander. For Arianus writeth of him that he was of a seemely stature, bolde in his enterprises, stout of stomacke, moderate in pleasures, wise in counsaile, & prouident to foresee thinges, that he was excellent in conducting of an armie, moste politike in ordering his battails, that he could encourage his souldiers with apt wordes, and when neede required take part of their perill. What partes of this be in your grace, let them iudge that haue known your actes in the warres, and your excellent seruice done, both in the time of the Kinges maiestie that nowe is, and also in his fathers daies of moste famous memorie. Although in doing hereof I haue not peradventure satisfied all mens expectations: yet my truste is, that your Grace will accept the same in good part, and consider that in a translation a man cannot alwaies vse his owne beyne, but shall bee compelled to tread in the Authours steppes, which is harder, and a moze difficult thing to do, then
 walke his owne
 pace.





THE FIRST BOOKE OF QVINTVS
Curtius supplied of the Actes of the
great Alexander, King of Ma-
cedon.



PHILIP of Macedon, which by
subduing of Grece, did firste
bring his Countrey in reputati-
on, was the sonne of Amyntas:
a man endued with wisdome,
hardnesse, and all other vertues
of a noble Capitaine. The same Amyntas had
by Curidice his wife thre sonnes: Alexander,
Perdiccas, and Philip, who was the Father of
great Alexander: with a Daughter also called
Curiones. The Queene Curidice being in a-
mours with one that had married her Daugh-
ter, conspired the death of the King her husband
to the intent to haue married with her sonne in
lawe, and to make him King: which thing
she had brought to effecte, had not the treason,
and whoredome of the mother, bene opened by
the daughter in time. After the death of Amyn-
tas, Alexander the eldest sonne enioyed his Fa-
thers kingdome: which in the beginning of his
reigne was so assailed on all sides, that hee was
compelled by force to purchase peace of the Illy-
rians with money, by giuing his brother Phi-
lip in hostage. And afterwarde by the same
pledge

pledge, made a like peace with the Thebans,
being the occasion that Philip did attaine to
such excellencie of knowledge & wisdom. For by
reason that hee was committed to the custodie
of Epaminundas, who was a valiaunt Capt-
taine, and an excellent Philosopher, hee was
brought vp in the trade of honeste Disciplines,
and princely manners, greatlie profiting vnder
a Philosopher of Pythagoras schole, whome
Epaminundas kept in his house for the instruc-
tion of his Sonne. In the meane season Alexan-
der was slayne by the meanes of Curidice his
mother, whose former treason King Amyntas
her Husbände had pardoned in respecte of the
Children had betwene them, litle thinking that
she would afterwards haue bene their destruc-
tion. For when Alexander was deade, shee cau-
sed in lyke maner her other sonne Perdiccas to
bee slaine, which Perdiccas left behind him one
Sonne being a young babe. About the same
time Philip the youngest brother, being by good
hap escaped out of Prison, returned into Ma-
cedon, and not taking vpon him the name of
King, remained a great while no otherwise but
as Gouernour or Tutor to his young nephew.
Nevertheless, afterwarde by occasion of sun-
drye mischiefes growing in the state, the same
being such as might not wel hang till the yong
king should come to his age: for that he appea-
red to bee a man of singular activitie, and of no
lesse skil in feats of warre, then in knowledge of
Philo-

Philosophie, was compelled by the people to take vpon him to be king of Macedon, which as then stode in harde plight, and great daunger of ruine. This was done 400. yeeres after the building of Rome, and the 105. Olympiade. In the beginning of his raigne he was combred with infinite troubles: for all the countreys neere about (as it were by a generall conspiracie) moued warre against him, and at one time sundrie nations swarmed togither out of sundrie partes to ouercome his kingdome. Wherefore considering that it stode him vpon to worke warily, (not being able to match them all at once) pacified some with faire promises, other with money, and the weakest he withstode with force. By that meanes hee both made his enemies afraid, and confirmed the hearts of his people, which he founde discouraged, and soze amased. These thinges hee wrought with great sleight and finenelle of witte in such sorte that he diminished not anie part of his honour, estate, or reputation, determining neuertheles as time should serue, to deale with euerie one aparte. His first warre was with the Athenians, whome hee ouercame by sleight and policie. And where it laye in his power to haue put them all to the sword, hee set them all at libertie without ranfome. By which point of clemencie (though it was but counterfeit, being done for feare of a greater warre at hand, yet it got him great good will, and estimation vniuersally. After that hee

subdu

subdued the Beons, and from thence turned his power against the Illirians, of whome he slew manie thousandes, and wan the noble Citie of Larissa. That done hee moued warre against the Thessalians, not for anie desire of their goods or spoile of their country, but of a policie to adde to his strength the force of their horsemen, which at those daies were counted the cheefest of the world. This his purpose he brought wel to passe for being sodenly assailed, they were sone brought to subiection. So Philip ioined the force of their horsemen vnto his footemen, whereby he made his power inuincible. After all these things happily brought to passe, he tooke to wife Olympias, one of the daughters of Neoptolemus King of the Molossians. That marriage was concluded by the meanes of Arisba, who had the government of Olympias, by marrying of her other sister called Troada. This marriage which he thought to haue made for his suertie, turned afterwarde to his subuersion. For thinking to haue made himselfe stronge by the affinitie of Philip, hee was at length by him deprived of the whole kingdome, and ended his life miserable in exile. Not long after this marriage, King Philip dreamed that hee sawe his Wyues wombe wonderfullie swollen, and to hys seeming a liuely Image of a Lyon there vpon: by which dreame the Diviners, and dreame readers did interprete that his Wife was conceived of a childe, that should bee of a Lyons heart

and

and courage: which interpretation pleased him much. Afterwardes at the assault of a Cittie called Methron, by shotte of an arrowe hee losse his righte eye. Whereof, though the displeasure was great, yet was he contente vpon their submission to take them to mercie. He wanne also the Cittie of Pagus, and annexed the same vnto his kingdome. He invaded the lande of the Triballes, and at one instant conquered it, with all the countreys thereabout.

Thus hauing made his kingdome strong by subduing his neighbours: at his returne home his Wife Olympias was deliuered of his sonne Alexander the 8. day of Aprill. Of these good fortunes the king reioised no lesse then reason was hauing established his countrey at home, subdued his enemies abroad, and gotten an heire to succede in his kingdome. He could haue desired no more of God, if the minde of man could euer bee satisfied, which the more it hath, the more it desireth. As dominion increaseth, so dooth also the desire to haue more: which was well seene in Philip, that still did compasse howe to growe greates by taking from his neighbours, and laye alwaies lyke a spy, awayting tyme and occasion, & howe to catch from euery man. Whereunto hee had occasion ministered by the Citties of Grece: for whiles one did couet to subdue an other, and through ambition were at strife who should bee chiefe, by one and one he brought them al at length to subiection, perswa-

ding the smaller states to moue warre against the greater, and to serue his purpose, contriued the wayes to sette them altogether by the Eares. But at length when his practises were perceiued, diuers Citties fearing his increase, confederated against him as their common enemy, but chiefly the Thebans. Nevertheless in necessitie when they were driven to wage men of warre, they chose him to bee their generall Capitaine against the Lacedemonians, and the Phoceans, which had spoyled the Temple of Apollo. This warre he honorably atchieued so that by punishing of their sacrilege, he gotte himselfe great honour in all those partes. But in the ende espying eyther of those Countreys to bee brought lowe with the Warre, he found the meanes to subdue both the one and the other compelling as well the ouercomers, as the overcome to bee his tributaries and Subiectes. Then made hee a voyage into Cappadocia, where killing, and taking prisoners all the princes thereabouts, reduced the whole Prouince to the subiection of Macedon. Hee conquered Olynthus, and within a while put his foote in Thrace. For where the two Kings of that countrey were at variaunce about the limits of their kingdomes, and chose him to be their arbitrer, he gladly toke it vpon him. But at the daye appoynted for the Iudgement, hee came not thither lyke a Iudge with a Counsell, but lyke a warriour with an Armie, and to parte the

the strife, expelled both the parties from their kingdoms. By this time young Alexander was twelue yeres of age, and began to take great delight in the feates of warre, shewing most manifest signes of a noble heart and princely courage. He was very swift of foot, & one day at a solemne game of running called Olimpiacum, being demaunded by some of his companions if he would runne a race with them: gladly (quoth he) if heere were Kinges sonnes to runne with all. An other time when certaine Embassadors of the Persians came into Macedon, Alexander which in his Fathers absence tooke vpon him their entertainment, and deuising with them of diuers thinges, in all his communication there neuer passed from him one childishe or vaine worde, but either inquired the state of their countrie, the maners of the people, the distance of the waies, the power of their King, or the order of his warres, with such other like. So that the Embassadors hauing meruaile thereat, esteemed the proue of the Father to bee much lesse, then the towardnes of the sonne, & that his courage was much more then was to be looked for in one of his yeres. As often as tidings came that the King his Father had wonne any strong or riche Towne, or obtained any notable victorie: he neuer seemed greatly ioyfull, but would say to his playfellows: My Father dooth so many great actes, that hee will leaue no occasion of any notable thing for vs to do together. Such were his wordes,

wordes, such was his talke: whereby it was easie to coniecture what a man hee would be after proue in age, which so began in youth. His delight was not sette in anie kinde of pleasure, or greedines of gaine, but in the onely exercise of vertue, and desire of honour. The more authoritie that hee receiued of his Father, the lesse hee would seeme to beare. And although by the great increase of his fathers dominion, it seemed that he should haue the lesse occasion of warres, yet he did not set his delight in vaine pleasure, or heaping vp of treasure, but sought all the means he coulde, to vse martiall feates, and exercises of warre: coueting such a kingdome, wherein for his vertue and proues, he might purchase fame and immortalitie. That hope neuer deceiued Alexander, nor any other, when it happeneth in a man of vertue and noble heart, that hath wil or occasion to put anie thing in vze. The charge and gouernance of this young Prince was committed to sundrie excellent Maisters and gouernors, but chiefly to the great Philosopher Aristotle, whose vertue, learning, and knowledge, King Philip so much esteemed, that hee would often say: Hee tooke no greater comforte in the birth of his sonne, then that he was prouided of such a maister for him as Aristotle, vnder whose tuition he remained ten yeres. Many thinges there chaunced besides, whereby it was coniectured, that Alexander should be proue a man of great valour. For when his Father sent to Delphos

phos to receiue aunswere of y Gods who should be his successour, the Oracle was giuen: that such a one should not onely succede him, but also be Lorde of the worlde, whome Bucephalus would suffer to sitte on his backe. This Bucephalus was a passing faire horse, fierce, and full of courage, which Philip had bought of a Thes-
salian for thirteene talentes, and because of his fiercenes, kept him within a brake of Iron bars, yet for all that he remained so fell and wood, that none durst come nere to dresse him. Whereof the King was so wearie, that he sought meanes to be ridde of the horse. It fortuned that Alexander came one day with his Father vnto the stable. What a horse (quoth he) is marred heere for lacke of good handling, and with that came more neare, and without any great difficultie gat vpon his backe, and vsing both the spurre and the rod to the vttermost, ranne and managed him so vp and downe, that the horse abode it verie well. And hauing ridden his fill, brought backe the horse againe. As he alighted, the King for ioy embraced and kissed him, & with teares in his eyes saide: O sonne, seeke some other kingdom meet for the greatnes of thy heart, for Macedon cannot suffice thee. So that euen then the foresaying Father did full well perceiue all his possessions farre insufficient for his sonnes heart. After this King Philip determined to make warre against all Greece, for the maintenaunce whereof hee thought it great aduantage if hee might firste
winne

winne Byzantium, a famous Cittie on the Sea coast. Wherefore committing the charge and gouernment of his realme to his sonne being then xv. yeeres of age, laide siege to the towne, which made him great resistance. When he had consumed all his riches and treasure about the siege, he was driuen to so narrowe shifte, that to furnish himselfe of money, hee became a Pyrate, and roued on the Sea, where he took 170. ships the spoile whereof hee departed among his souldiers. And least his whole armie should be detained about the siege of that one Cittie, hee sorted out the most chosen bands of all his souldiours, and went into Chersonesus, where he took and put to sacke many notable townes. Because his sonne Alexander was then about 18. yeeres old, and had shewed euident prooue of his vertue and manhode in all his attempts: his Father sente for him thither, to the intente hee might in his warres learne and exercise all feates belonging to a souldiour, and with him made a voiage into Scythia, vpon none other quarrell, but to spoyle the countrey. Thus vsing the practise of Merchantes, with the gaine of one warre, hee bare out the charges of another. After he had brought the countrey in subiection, because no riches of golde nor siluer was to bee gotten, hee brought from thence xx. M. of men, women, and children, besides a great multitude of cattaille, with xx. M. choise mares to make a race in Macedon. In his returne he was encountred with the Triballes,
B. h. which

which denied him passage, except they might haue part of his bootie. Whereupon debating of the matter, from wordes they fell to fighting, whereat King Philip was so wounded in his thigh, that the violence of the stroke ran through the bodie of his horse, whereof all men iudging him to be slaine, the bootie was thereby lost. As soon as he was recovered of this hurte, his long dissembled grudge against the Athenians brake out so farre forth, that he made open warre vpon them. By reason wherof the Thebans seeing the fire so neare at hande, gaue succour to their neighboures, fearing least if the Athenians were overcome, the end of the warres shuld turne vpon them. Wherefore the Cities that a little before were mortall enemies one to another, confederated together in one league, & sente their Embassadors through all Greece, perswading it to be most meete with a common aide, to withstand a common enemy. Some considering the perill to bee vniuersall, flacke to the Athenians. And some fearing Philips power increasing, and the others decaying, tooke parte with him. In this warre Alexander had the charge of one of the battailes committed to him, wherein his noble hart and courage did well appeare, specially when it came to the stroke of the fight, for there he acquitted himselfe so valiauntly, that he seemed not inferiour to his father, nor to any man els, but by most iust desert got the honoz of victory. Yet he was defrauded therof by the en-
uy

uy & sleight of his father, as he himself complained after wardes. This battaile was fought at Cherony, wherein though the Athenians were the greater number, yet were they overcome by the Macedons being the fewer, but yet expert souldiours, by reason of their long and continual practise in warres: neuerthelesse the Athenians as men not vnmindfull of their former honour, spent their liues valiantly. That day made an end of all the Grekes glozy, as wel of their large rule and gouernment, as of their most auncient freedome and liberty, which being hardly wone, and long tyme kept, was thus lost in a moment. For these and many other experimentes of the valour and prowes in yong Alexander, although the king his father did alwayes beare him singular affection and fauour, yet neuerthelesse by certaine occasiōs ensuing, it was unhappily broken. For Philip being married to Olympias, mother of Alexander (as is said before) tooke to wife besides her, one Cleopatra, whereupon fell great discord and unkindnesse betwene the father and the sonne. The occasion was giuen by one Attalus vncle of Cleopatra, who beyng at the new mariage, exhorted the multitude to make prayers to the goddes to sende betwene the king and the new Queene a lawfull heire to succede in the kingdome of Macedon. Whereat Alexander beyng moued: Thou naughty villain (quoth he) dost thou count me a bastard? And with that worde slang the cup at his head.

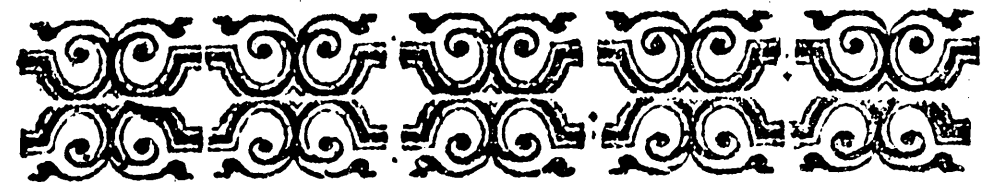
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The King hearing this rose vp, and wyth his sword drawne ran at his sonne, who by swarving with his bodie, auoided the stroke, so that it did no harme. Here-vpon Alexander with many stout and despightfull words, departed from his father, and went with his mother into Epirus. Neuerthelesse soone after, by the meanes of one Demozatus a Corinthian, who perswaded the King that this discorde was nothing for his honour, Alexander was sent for againe, and much labour and great meanes was made, before they could be well reconciled. Wherefore to confirme this attonement there was a mariage made betwene Alexander the brother of Olympiades (whome Philip by the expulsion of Arisba had made King of Epirus) and Cleopatra the newe Queenes daughter. The tryumph of that daye was notable, according to the state and magnificence of such two Princes, the one bestowing his daughter, and the other marrying a wife. There were set forth sundrie notable playes, and deuises pleasaunt to beholde. And as King Philip (betwene the two Alexanders, the one his naturall sonne, and the other his son in law) was passing through the pzease without anye garde: one Pausanias a young man of the Nobilitie of Macedon, when no man suspected anie such thing, sodainly slew him starke deade, making that day which was appointed to ioye and triumph, lamentable and dolorous by the death of such a Prince. This Pausanias being a boy
was

was enforced by Attalus to the vnnaturall vse of his bodie, which not content to do so himselfe, at an other open banket, caused diuers of his familiars to abuse him likewise. Which shame & villanie greeued the young man so sore that hee complained to the King, whome although the dishonestie of the matter moued much, yet for the loue he bare to Attalus, and for the respecte of his seruice, forbare to vse anie reformation in the matter. This Attalus was verie neere vnto the King, and in special fauour, by reason he was kinsman to the Queene Cleopatra, whom Philip had last married: Hee was also elected generall Capitaine of the Kinges armie, prepared to passe into Asia, as one that was both valiant of his person, and no lesse politique in the seates of warre. Vpon these respects the King endeouored by all the meanes he could, to pacifie Pausanias (being kindled with most iust cause of grieve) as well by giuing him great giftes & promotion as placing him honourably amongst those Gentlemen that were for the gard of his person. But all this could not appease the iuste rage of his ire, which wrought so in him, that he determined to be reuenged, not only vpon Attalus that did the villanie, but also vpon the King that would not minister iustice. Which determination he put in effecte, as is saide before. Many thinges might be saide more of the doings and sayings of this Philip, but one thing aboue other is to be noted, that although for the more parte

The first booke supplied
 he was occupied in the turmoile of the warres,
 and other like busines: yet had he euer such af-
 fection to the studies of humanitie and good lear-
 ning, that he both did, & spake, many thinges
 worthy memory, which were both wittie
 and pleasant. He liued seven and four-
 tie yeres, and reigned xxv. being
 the xxij. king of the Macedo-
 nians, as they reigned
 in order.



THE SECOND BOOKE OF QVIN-
 tus Curtius supplied of the Actes of the
 great Alexander, King of Ma-
 cedon.



When Philip was dead, his sonne
 which for the greatnesse of his
 actes was afterwards called the
 great Alexander, tooke vpon him
 the kingdome the 426. yere af-
 ter the building of Rome, beyng
 of the age of 17. yeres. His state stode at y tyme
 subiect to much enuy and hatred, and hazard fro
 all partes. For the nations and prouinces borde-
 ring vpon him, could not wel beare their present
 bondage, and euery one of them sought how to
 recouer againe their auncient dominion and in-
 heritance. The first thing he attempted after he
 was king, was the grieuous execution vpon so
 many as had conspired his fathers death: which
 done, hee celebrated his funerals with great
 pompe. Concerning his estate he some establi-
 shed it, and that much better then any man
 could haue imagined, in one of so young and
 tender yeres: for beyng of some had in con-
 tempt, and of some suspected to be cruell,
 towarde the one hee bare himselfe so stoutely
 that he tooke from them all contempt, and to
 the other so gently, that their imagined feare
 of his cruell disposition was cleane taken away.

He graunted vnto the Macedons freedome, and priuiledge, from all exactions and bondage, sauing from the bondage of warre: by which acte he got so great fauour and loue amongst his people, that all affirmed by one consent, how the person of the king was chaunged, and not his vertue, his name was altered, but not his good gouernment. In the beginning of his raigne, rebellion was made against him on all sides, but he by and by with an incredible stoutnes and constancie of minde, staid all their tumultes. That matter pacified and set in order, he went to Corinth in Peloponese, where calling a generall Councell of all the states of Grece, was elected their generall Capitaine against the Persians, which before time had afflicted Grece with manie plagues, & at that present possessed the greatest Empire in the world. His Father had purposed that warre before, but the preuention of death was the cause he brought not his purpose to passe. Whiles he was in preparation of this enterprise, he was enformed how the Athenians, the Thebans, & the Lacedemonians were revolted from him, and confederate with the Persians, and all by meanes of an Oratour called Demosthenes, which was corrupted by the with a great summe of money. For the reformation wherof Alexander so sodainly had prepared an army, that when he came vpon them, they could scarcely beleue he should be present, of whose comming they had not heard before. In
his

his way he practised with the Thessalians, and vsed to them such gentle wordes and apte persuasions by putting them in remembrance of his fathers benefites, and of the auncient kinred betwene them, by their discent from Hercules: that he brought them to the point, by an vniuersall decree of the whole countrey, to bee created their Gouvernour. So great was the celeritie that this yong man vsed, and his diligence so effectuall in all his doings, that he made all such feare him, as before were revolted, and regarded him little. As the Athenians were the first that failed, so they first of all repented, extolling with praises Alexanders childhood, which before they had despised, above the vertue of the auncient conquerours. They also sent embassadours to require of him peace, whom, he sore rebuked when they came to his presence, but yet was content at length to remit their offence. And although Demosthenes was chosen one of y^e embassadours, yet he came not in his sight, but in his way returned againe to Athens. Which his doing was either for feare that he had so often railed against Philip, and stirred the Athenians against him, or els to take away the suspition of himselfe from the king of Persia, of whom (it was sayde) he had receiued a great summe of gold to stand against the Macedons. The same thing was laid against him by Aeschines in an Oration where he saith: presently the kinges gold doth beare his charges, but that cannot last
him

him long, seeing no riches can suffice his prodigall living. When Alexander had pacified those sturres that were begun in Greece, before he would passe his army into Asia, he made a iourney against the Deones, the Tribals, & Thyllirians, because he understode they were conspiring together. And for that they bordered vpon his countrey, and were wont to invade y same vpon every occasion, thought to set stay amongst them, before he would remoue his power so far off. From the citie of Amphipolis therefore he set forwarde against the Thracians, which at that tyme were not vnder the rule or law of any man. In ten dayes he came to the mount of Venus, in the top whereof he found them encamped, with a power to resist his passage. In stead of trenches they had impaled themselves with their cariages crosse the streightes, purposing there to withstand him. And if they should be invaded by any other way then by the streightes, they did determine to roule their cariages down the hil vpon the Macedons, to breake their aray. What deuice was put in execution, but the soldiers had receiued before instructions by Alexander, as occasion should serue either to open their aray, to let the cartes and wheeles passe through them, or els to fall flat vpon the ground, and by couering their bodies with their targets, auoyd the danger. They vsed the matter according to their instructions, and when the cartes were passed by, they with a courage and cry mounted vp against

against their enemies, and in a moment put the to flight. When Alexander was passed y mountaine, he entered into the countrey of the Tribals as farre as the riuer of Ligeus. When Sirmus king of that land understode of his coming, he sent his wife and his children with such of his people, as were not meete for the warres, into an Ilande called Venca, situate within the riuer of Danubie, in which Iland the Thracians bordering with the Triballes were fled also. It was not long after that Sirmus himselfe fledde thither likewise: the rest of the Triballes that were not with the king withdrawing into another Iland, where they kept themselves against Alexander. But he by pollicie found the meanes to drawe them out of their strength, whereby he slew of them the number of three thousand, and the rest fledde away, so that of prisoners there were few taken. After this battaile he marched towarde the riuer of Danubie, to the Iland where the Thracians and the other Tribals were fledde. They made notable resistace agaynst hym, which they might the better doe, by reason that Alexander wanted boates to passe into y Iland, the bankes whereof were so high & steepe, that they could not be mounted vpon, but with great difficultie, the Riuer besides runnyng so swift by reason that the streame was there driven into a straight. When Alexander perceiued the impossibilitie to assaile the, he withdrew to another place, where
gett n3

getting a few boates, passed the riuer in y^e night, to the number of 1500. horsemen, & 4000. footemen. With that company he set vpon a people called Getes, that stood ready in battaile on the further side with 4000. horsemen, and ten M. footemen, of purpose to stop the Macedons passage. But by their sodaine comming ouer, the Getes were so afraid, that they did not abide the first onset. It seemed to them a matter of wonderfull aduenture, for Alexander in one night without a brydge, to passe his power ouer the broadest and deepest riuer of all Europe. This matter strake such feare in them, that they fled into the woodes and desert places, leauing their citie desolate, which was taken by Alexander and ouerthrowen. Syrmus king of the Tribals, with the Germanes, and the other inhabitours vpon Danubie, sent embassadours thither vnto Alexander, to enter with him in friendship and amitie. And he condescending to their requests, enquired of the Germanes what thing it was in the world that they doubted most: thinking in dede that the terrour of his name had bene the most fearefullest thing vnto them. But whē they vnderstode his meaning, they answered, that they doubted greatly the falling of the skie. With whose presumptuous answer Alexander was nothing moued, nor further replied, sauing onely that he said: the Germans were a proud people, and therupon dismissed them. As he was goyng from thence against the Agrians and the

Peans,

Peans, he was aduertised that Clitus Bardeleius had rebelled, and was confederate with Glaucias the king of the Thaulantes, he had also intelligence, that y^e people of Anteria would giue him battaile in his passage. Wherefore he committed to Lagarus King of the Agrians (which was wel beloued of king Philip, and no lesse in his fauour) the charge to go against the Anterians, and promised him vpon his returne to giue him his sister Cyna in marriage. And Alexander himselfe with great celeritie, went against Clitus and Glaucias, whom in sundry battailes he ouercame, and put to flight. When Alexander was about these thinges, he receiued aduertisement, that diuers citie in Greece, and specially y^e Thebans, had rebelled, which thing moued him much, and was the cause that he returned with speede to oppresse that commotion. The Thebans in this meane season besieged the castle of Thebes, wherein was a garison of Macedones, and went about by all meanes to winne it. Alexander came by great iourneis to their rescue, and encamped with his hoste nere to the citie. Such as bare rule amongst y^e Thebans, when they sawe him come, contrary to that they looked for, and doubting whither such aide should come to them from other citie as was promised, began to consult how to proceed. At length by a generall consent, they determined to abide the aduenture and extremity of the warre. The king in the meane season stood at a

stay,

stay, giuing them space to be better aduised and change purpose, for he was of opinion, that no one citie would euer haue made resistance against so great a power as he had, beyng aboue xxx. thousand footmen, and three thousand horsemen, all old souldiers, and expert in the trauels of warre. The trust of their manhoode and valiantnes, had caused him to undertake y warres against the Persians. Truly if the Thebanes had giuen place to fortune, and to the time, and would haue required peace, they might easily haue obtained it, his desire was so great to passe into Asia against the Persians. But y Thebanes that were determined to try their force, and not to make any sute, fought against the Macedons, far exceeding them in number, obstinately, and with great manhoode. But whiles the battailes were ioyning, the garison of the castle issued out vpon the Thebanes backes, whereby being inclosed, they were vanquished, their city taken, spoiled, and bitterly rased. Which extremity Alexander vsed of purpose, because he thought the rest of the Grecians afraid by their example, would be the more quiet, while he should be in y wars of Asia. To gratifie the Phoceans and Ioliceans his confederates, which brought many accusations against the Thebanes, he slew of them five thousand, and sold thirtie thousand as slaues: the money whereof commyg, amounteth to the summe of foure hundred and fortie talentes. Yet he spared all the linage of Pindarus the Poet,

Poet, whereby he would witnes vnto y world, the fauour he did beare vnto learned men. In this city of Thebes was a notable woman called Timoclea, whom when a captain of Thrace did rauish, and would haue enforced her to confesse her money. She brought him to a well, where (she said) all her precious geare was hid. And whiles he stouped downe to looke into the well, she thrust him in, and threw stones after, whereby he was slaine. For this fact she being committed to prison, & after wardes brought before Alexander: he asked her what she was, she answered without feare, that she was sister to Theogenes, which being elected general captain against king Philip his father, manfully died for the liberty of Greece. At whose stoutnesse and constancy, the king marueled much, that he caused her with her children to be set at liberty. The Athenians had so great pity & compassion of the estate of the Thebanes, that contrary to y commandement of Alexander, they receiued into their city such of them as escaped. Which thing Alexander tooke in such displeasure, y when they sent embassadours the second time to demaund peace, he would not graunt attonement vpo any other condition, but that such Oratours and captains which had stirred them to rebellio, should be deliuered vnto his handes. But at length the matter was brought to that point that the Oratours were released, and the captaines banished, which straight fledde to Darius king of Persia.

At

At such tyme as Alexander assembled the Grecians in Isthmos for the determination of his iourney into Persia, many Oratours and Philosophers came to visite him, onely Diogenes that remained about Corinthe, kept himselfe away, as one that esteemed Alexander nothing at all. Whereat he marueiled much, and went to visite him, where he was beaking himselfe in the sunne. He asked Diogenes if he had neede of any thing he might doe. To whom Diogenes neither gaue reuerence nor thanks, but willed him to stand out of his sunne shine. In whose behaniour and wordes, Alexander tooke so great delite, that turning to those that were with him, sayd: if he were not Alexander, he would wish to be Diogenes. When he had put in order the affaires of Greece, committing y rule thereof together with the realme of Macedon, to the gouernment of Antipater, whom he most trusted, in the beginning of the spring came to Hellespont with his whole army, which he transported into Asia, with incredible speede and diligence. When they were come to the further shore, Alexander threw a dart to the enemies land, & as he was armed, leaped out of the shippe with great gladnes, and there sacrificed, making petition vnto the goddes, that they would vouchsafe to admit him king of that land. From thence he marched towarde his enemies, and forbade his souldiours to make any spoile vpon the countrey, perswading them to spare that was their

owne,

owne, and that they should not destroy y thing which they came to possesse. He had not in his army aboue the number of 32. M. footemen, and v. M. horsemen, and but 180. ships: wherefore it is hard to iudge whether it be wonderful that he conquered the world, or that he durst attempt the conquest thereof with so small a power. He chose not out to such a dangerous enterprize, the yong men which were in the first flower of their age, but the old souldiours, of whome the more part for their long continuance in wars, were by the custome at liberty, and free from the warres, sauing at their owne pleasure. And there was no captaine nor any other, that bare office in his army, vnder the age of lx. yeeres. So that the souldiours for their experience, seemed to be Scholemasters of the warres, and the captains for their grauity appeared to be Senators in some auncient common wealth. That was the cause that in the fight none of them minded any flying, but euery one conceiued the victorie in his head, nor any put trust in his fete, but in his handes. Alexander that euery where made sacrifice, did vse most solemnitie at Troy vpon Achilles tombe, of whom he was descended by his mothers side. He iudged him most happy of all men before him, because in such glozy he died yong, & had his actes set forth of such an one as Homer was. Fro thence he passed forwards into the dominions of Darius king of Persia, which being the sonne of Arsanus, & the four-

C. j.

teenz

teene king after Cyrus, had gotten the possession of the Monarchy of the whole East part of the world. The chiefest cause that moued Alexander to invade him, was to be reuenged of the damages & destructions, wherewith his predecessors had afflicted the countrey of Greece, and also for demanding tribute of Philip his father, for the which he sent a proude & presumptuous embassage, calling himselfe the king of kinges, and kinsman of the gods. Lastly, he had written to Alexander, and called him his seruant, & gaue commission to his lieutenants, that they should beat that mad boy the sonne of Philip wth rods, and afterwarde bring him to his presence in kings apparell. And furthermore, y^e they should drowne both ship and mariners, and conuey all the souldiours that should be left on liue beyōd the red seas. They therefore purposing to execute the kings commandement, assembled their power at the riuer of Granike, which doth diuide the countrey of Troy from Propontides, hauing to the number of xx. M. footemen, and as many horsemen, with whom they had take the ground on the further side of the riuer, where Alexander must needs passe over. Wherof whē he was aduertised, though he sawe present peril in y^e enterprise to fight in the water, & the ouer, from the lower ground, against his enemies, which had the aduantage of y^e higher banke, yet vpon a singular trust of his own good fortune, & the valiantnes of his souldiers attempted y^e matter.

ter. At the first he was sore encountred, and put in great hazard of repulse, but at length he vanquished and ouerthrew his enemies. In doing whereof, there neither wanted policie in himself, nor yet singular manhood in his mē. There was slaine in that battaile of the Persians, xx. M. footemen, with ccl. horsemen, & of the Macedōs but 34. This victory was greatly effectual to Alexanders purpose, for thereby he wan the citie of Sardes, being the chiefe strength the Persians had for the mastering of the seas, vnto the which citie & to all the rest of the countrey of Lydia, he gaue liberty to liue vnder their owne lawes. He got also into his possession the citie of Ephesos, by reason that the fourth day after the battaile, it was abandoned of the garison which Darius set there. In the meane season there came embassadors from Magnesia, & from the Trallians, profering the deliuey of their cities. Parmenio was sent to them with iii. M. footemen, & cc. horsemen with which power hee wan Miletum that stood at defence, & marching from thence toward Helicarnassus, got all the towne thereabouts at the first approach, and afterwards besieged Helicarnassus it selfe, which with great trauaile he wan at length, and raised it to y^e ground. As Alexander entred into Caria, Ada the Queene of y^e countrey which had bene spoiled of all her dominiō by Dantobates Darius lieutenant (sauing of one strong city called Alinda) met with Alexander, & adopted him for her

C. ii. her

her sonne and heire. He would not refuse the name and the profer of her liberalitie, but did betake to her againe the custody of her owne citie. And besides for the memozy of her beneuolence put the whole countrey of Caria vnder her rule and subiection. From thence hee went into Licia and Pamphilia, to the intent that by getting the possession of the sea coastes of those countries, he might cause the sea power of Darius to stand to none effect. When he had once subdued the people of Mysidia, hee entered into Phrygia, by the which countrey he was enforced to passe, & marched towards Darius, with whom he had great desire to encounter, hearing say that hee was commyng against him with many thousandes of men of warre.



THE THIRD BOOKE OF QUINTUS CURTIUS supplied of the Actes of the great Alexander, King of Macedon.



Alexander in the meane season hauing sent Cleander to wage me of warre out of Deloponese, and established the countries of Lycia and Pamphilia, remoued his army to the city of Celenas. Through this citie there ran at the same time the riuer of Marcia, very famous in the Greeke poesies: whose head springing out of the top of an high mountaine, and falling downe vpon a rocke beneath, made much noyse and roaring. It floweth from thence, and watereth y fields all about, without encrease of any streame sauing his owne. The colour whereof beyng like vnto the calme sea, gaue occasion to the Poets to faine, how the Sumpnes for the delight they tooke in that riuer, chose their dwelling vnder that rocke. So long as it runneth within compass of the walles, it keepeth his owne name, but whe it commeth without where y streame is more swift and vehement, is then called Lycum. Alexander did enter into this towne, being forsaken of the inhabitants, and perceiuing they were fled into the castle which he determined

to win before he departed, first sent to summon them by an Herald, which declared that except they would yield themselves, they should suffer the extremity of y^e law of Armes. They brought the Herald into an high Tower which was strong both by nature & workmanship, willing him to consider the thing, and to declare unto Alexander that he waighed not sufficiently the strength of the place, for they said they knew it to be impreniable, and if the worst should fall, yet would they be redy to die in their truth and allegiance. Notwithstanding these words, when it came to the point, that they save themselves besieged, and all things ware scarce, they took truce for 14. dayes, with this composition, that if they were not rescued by Darius within that time, they would render it vp into his handes. Which they did afterwards at the day appointed, when they saw no succours commyng. To y^e place there came embassadors to him from Athens, making request, that such of their city as were taken prisoners at y^e battel fought vpon the riuer of Granike, might be restored to the. To whom answer was made, that when the wars of Persia were brought to an end, both theirs & all other that were Grekes, should be restored to their liberty. Alexander had his present care & imagination alwaies vpon Darius, whome he knew not yet to be passed the riuer of Euphrates. He assembled therefore all his power together, purposing to aduenture the hazard of the battel.

battel. The countrey was called Phrygia & hee passed thorow, plentiful of villages, but scarce of cities, yet there was one of great antiquitie called Gordium, the roial seat sometime of king Midas. The riner Sangarius doth run thorow it, & it standeth in midway betwene the seas of Ponto & Cilicia: being iudged to be the narrowest part of Asia, by reason of the seas which lye on both sides, representing the forme of an Island. And if it were not for a small point of land, that doth lie betwixt those seas, they shuld ioine both together. Alexander hauing brought this city vnder his obeisance, entred into the temple of Jupiter, where he sawe the wagon wherein Midas the builder of the city was wont to ride. The same in the furniture & outward apperance differed litle from other common wagons, but there was in it a thing notable: which was a rope folded and knit with many knots, one so wrethed within another, that no man could perceiue the maner of it, neither where the knots beganne, nor where they ended. Hereuppon the countrey men had a prophesie, that hee should bee lord of all Asia, that coulde vndoe the endelese knotte. That was a matter which put the kyng in a marueilous desire to become the fulfiller of the prophesie. Where stood a great number aboute hym both of Phrygians & Macedons, the one part of the musing to what conclusiō this matter would come to, and the other fearing the rash presumptiō of
C. iij. their

their king, forasmuch as they could perceiue by no reason how that knot should be vndone. The king himselfe also doubting, that the failynge of his purpose in the matter, might be taken as a token of his euill fortune to come. After hee had considered the thing: What matter maketh it (quoth he) which way it be vndone, and strived no longer how to vnknit it, but out of hand cut with his sword the cordes asunder: thereby either illuding, or els fulfilling the effect of y^e propheticie. When this was done, Alexander purposed to finde out Darius wheresoeuer he were, & to the intent he would leaue all thinges cleare behind his backe, made Amphitorus captaine of his nauy vpon the coast of Hellespont, committing the charge of the men of warre to Egiolus. They two had commission to deliuer the Ilands of Lesbos, Scio, and Coos frō the hands of the Persians. And for the furniture of their charges, appointed to them l. talents. And sent to Antipater and such other as had the gouernance of the cities of Greece, lx. talents. He gaue order that such as were his confederates, should with their owne power of ships defend the seas of Hellespont according to the league betwixt them. It was not yet come to his knowledge how Hennon was dead, vpon whom he set his whole regard, knowing if that he moued not against him, no man should be his stop before he came to Darius. Alexander came to the citie of Ancyze where he made his musters, and so entred

tered into Baphlagonia, whereunto the Grecians be borderers, of whom (it is said) the Venetians be discended. All this countrey yelded vnto him, and gaue him pledges, obteinyng to bee free of tribute, seeing they neuer paid any to the Persians. Calas was capitaine there, who taking with him the band of souldiers that were lately come out of Macedon went vnto Capadocia. But Darius hearing of the death of Hennon, was no lesse moued therewith, then y^e case required, for then all other hope set apart, he determined to try the matter in person. For he condemned all thinges that had bene done by his deputies, hauing opinion that good gouernement wanted in many of them, and that fortune had failed in them all. He came therefore to Babylon, where he encamped, assembling al his force together in sight, because he would shewe the greater courage. And vsing the example of Xerxes, in taking of his musters, entrenches so much ground about, as was able to receiue ten thousand men, within which he lodged in the night such as had bene mustred in the day, and from thence they were bestowed abroad in the plaine countrey of Mesopotamia. The number of his horsemen and footemen were innumerable, and yet seemed in y^e sight to be more then they were. There were of the Persians, one C. thousand, of whom xxx. thousand were horsemen. Of the Medians, x. thousand horsemen, and xxx. thousand footemen. Of the Bactarites two H. horsemen with

with broad swordes, and light bucklers, and ten
 thousand footmen with like weapons. There were of
 the Armenians xl. thousand footmen, and vij. thousand horse-
 men. The Hircanians of great estimation a-
 mongst those nations had vi. thousand horsemen.
 The Derucens were xl. thousand footmen ar-
 med with pykes, whereof parte had no heads of
 Iron, but dried the points of them in the fire.
 There were also of the same nation ij. thousand horse-
 men. There came from the Caspian sea viij. thousand
 footmen, and cc. horsemen, and with them of the
 rude nations of Asia, ij. thousand footmen, and iij. thousand
 horsemen. To the increase of these numbers
 there were xxx. thousand mercenary souldiers y^e were
 Greekes. Haste would not suffer to call for the
 Bactrians, Scythians, and Indians, with other y^e
 inhabitants of the red sea: nations which had na-
 mes scarcely knowne to their owne king. Thus
 Darius wanting nothing lesse then the multi-
 tude of men, greatly reioised to beholde the. And
 puffed vp with the vanitie and flatterie of the
 great men, which were about him, turned to
 Charidemus of Athens, an expert man of war,
 (which for the displeasure that Alexander did
 beare him, was banished the cuntry) and asked
 him if he thought not that companye sufficient
 to ouerthrowe the Macedons. Wherunto Cha-
 ridemus without respect of the kinges pride, or
 his owne estate, answered: peraduenture Sir,
 (quoth he) yee wil not bee content to heare the
 truth, and except I tell it presently, it shall be too
 late

late hereafter. This great preparatiō and huge
 armie of yours, gathered of the multitude of so
 many nations, raised vp from all partes of the
 Orient, is more fearefull to the inhabitants here-
 abouts, then terrible to your enemies. Your me-
 shine in colours, and glister in armour of golde:
 exceeding so much in riches, that they which
 haue not seene them with their eyes, cannot con-
 ceive any such thing in their minds. But contra-
 riwise y^e Macedons being rough souldiers, with-
 out any such excesse be terrible to beholde. The
 fronts of their battails stande close together al-
 waies in strength, furnished with pikes and tar-
 gets for defence. That which they cal their Phal-
 lanx, is an immouable square of footmen, wher-
 in euerie one stand close to other, ioyning wea-
 pon to weapon. Euerie souldier is obedient to
 that which is commaunded him, ready at his
 Capitaines becke, whether it bee to followe his
 ensigne, to keepe his aray, to stand still, to run, to
 fitch a compasse, to chaunge y^e order of the bat-
 taile, to fight on this side or that side, euerie soul-
 dier can do these things so well as the capitains.
 And because you shal not thinke gold & siluer to
 be so effectuell to this matter, they began & ob-
 serued this discipline, pouerty beeing maister.
 When they be lery y^e ground is their bed, they
 are satisfied wth such meat as they find by chāce,
 & they measure not their sleep by y^e length of the
 night. Think you y^e horseme of Thessaly, y^e Acha-
 nans & Etolians (invincible men of war) wil be
 repulsed

repulſed with ſlings or ſtaues hardened in the fire. It becometh you to haue a like force to re-
 pulſe them, and to be ſerued of the ſame kind of
 men. My counſel is therefore that you ſend this
 gold and ſiluer to wage ſouldiours out of thoſe
 countries from whence they come. Darius was
 a man of a meeke and tractable diſpoſition, if y^e
 heighth of his eſtate had not altered the goodnes
 of his nature, which made him ſo vnpatient to
 heare the truth, that he commaunded Charide-
 mus to be put ſtraightwayes to death: beeyng a
 man that was fled to his protection, & that gaue
 him right profitable counſel. When he was go-
 ing towards his death, he left not his liberty to
 ſpeake, but ſaid: there is one at hand that ſhall
 reuēge my death. For he againſt whom I haue
 giuen the counſaile, ſhall puniſh thee for not fo-
 lowing of mine aduice. And thou being thus al-
 tered with the liberty thou haſt, beeyng a king,
 ſhalt be an example to ſuch as ſhall come after,
 that when men commit their deings to fortune,
 they cleerely forget theſelues. Whiles Charide-
 mus was ſpeaking theſe words, they which had
 y^e charge comitted vnto the, put him to death,
 whereof afterwarde the king tooke ouer late
 repentaunce, confeſſing hym to haue ſpoken
 the trueth, and cauſed hym to be buried. There
 was one Thymones the ſonne of Mentoz,
 a young man of great actiuitie, to whome
 Darius gaue the charge of all the ſouldiours
 ſtrangers (in whom he had great confidence)
 willing

willing him to receine them at Pharnabaſus
 handes, and gaue to Pharnabaſus the rule that
 Memnon had beſore. Thus Darius beeing care-
 full of the buſineſſe he had in hande, whether it
 were through penſiuenes of minde, or that his
 fancie did diuine things to come, was continually
 troubled wth viſiōs in his ſleepe. He dreamed y^e the
 Macedons campe was all on fire. And ſhortly af-
 ter it ſemed to him that Alexander was brought
 to his preſence in ſuch kinde of apparell as hee
 himſelfe did weare when hee was firſt choſen
 king, and that Alexander ſhould bee carried on
 horſebacke through Babylon, and ſo vaniſhe out
 of ſight. Here-vpon the interpreters of dreames
 with the diuerſitie of their diuining, did dryue
 Darius into diuers imaginations. Some ſayde
 his dreame betokened good fortune to himſelfe,
 becauſe of the fire that ſemed to bee in his ene-
 mies campe, and for that Alexander without a-
 ny beſture of a king, appeared in the vulgar ap-
 parell of the Perſians. Other did interprete it
 otherwiſe: that the lightening in the Macedons
 campe, ſignified glory and victorie to Alexander,
 & alſo the enioying of the Empire of Aſia, which
 they made a cleare matter, for as much as Alex-
 ander appeared in the ſame beſtures that Darius
 ware when he was choſen king. Care he-
 ſides and trouble of mind (as it often chanceth)
 brought things paſt againe to remembrance. It
 was rehearſed howe Darius in the beginning
 of his reigne chaunged the ſcabard of his ſworde
 from

from the Persian maner, into the fashion that the Greekes vse. Where-vpon the Chaldeis did prognosticate, that y^e kingdome of Persia should be translated to those, whose fashion hee had counterfeited. Notwithstanding through the confidence of such prophesies as were commonlie solwen abroad, and of the vision that he seemed to haue scene in his sleepe, became verie merrie, and commaunded his army to march forwards to the riuer of Euphrates. It was the auncient custome amongst the Persians, at the sunne rising to raise their campe, and warning of their setting forwards to be giuen by the sounding of a trumpet, sounded at the kings pavilion, vpon the which there stood an Image of the sunne enclosed in cristall, shining so bright, that it might be seen throughout the camp. The order of their marching was in this manner. The fire which they call holy and eternall, was carried before vpon siluer aulters, and the priests of their lawe went nexte singing after their countrey maner. Where followed CCC. lxx. young men in scarlet robes, like in number vnto the daies of the yere. Then came the Chariot consecrated to Jupiter drawne with white palfreyes, a greate horse following which they cal the horse of the sunne. Such as did ride vpon the palfreyes did weare white garmentes, bearing reddes of golde in their handes. Next in order came ten Chariots, garnished and wrought with siluer and golde. The horsemen of twelue nations followed next

in sundrie sort of armour. Then came a compaignie that the Persians call immortall, the riches of whose apparell, exceeded farre the rest: they had all chaines of gold, coates embroidered with golde, and sleeues sette with pearle. There followed within a smal distance a band of cccc. called Doziphery, reputed for the kinges kinsmen, which were disguised in manner like Wommen, moze notable for their galauntnes and varietie of apparell, then for the armour they did weare. Such as were wont to receiue the kings robes, did ride next before the chariot, vppon the which Darius did sitte on high, with great pompe and magnificence: his chariot beeing garnished on both sides with carued Images of their Goddes made of siluer and golde. The steame whereof was set with pearls & pretious stones, with y. Images of golde standing there-vpon of a cubite length, combattant one against the other, and ouer their heades an Eagle of golde displayed. But amongst all the reste, the kinges apparaille shewed marueilous sumptuous, which was of purple empaled white, with a bord er embzdered of gold, fawcons fighting together. He was girt effeminately with a girdle of golde, and the sword that hang there-vpon, had the scabarde made of a pearle. The diademe the king ware vppon his head, called of the Persians Cydarys, had a roule about it of white & greene. Next behind the king came cccc. horsemen, which had all their speares plated with siluer, and their speare heades

heades gilded. Hee was enclosed on both sides with CC. of the bloud royall, at whose backes therz followed xxx. M. footemen, and after them CCC. of the kings courfers.

Within the distance of one furlong Sisigambis the mother of Darius was caried in a Waggon, and his wife in an other: the train of their women riding on horsebacke. Next them xv. wagons, wherein the kings children were carried, their purses and Eunuches, which are greatlie esteemed in that cuntrey. And after them followed CCC. xl. of the kings concubines, all apparelled like Quænes. Then came vi. C. Mules, & CCC. Camelles, that caried the kings treasure guarded with a band of Archers. The wiues of the kings kinsmen, & the other that were about the king, came riding next, & after them a greate companie of slaues and varlets. Last came the rereward lightly armed, whereof euerie Capitaine senerally with his owne companie closed in the armie, such was the order of Darius host. But on the other side beholding Alexanders armie, there was to bee scene a great difference.

Neither the men nor the horse glistered so with golde, nor pretious ornamentes, but onely with the brightnesse of their harnesse. But they were obedient at their Capitaines becke, alwaies in a readinesse to stay or to passe forwardes, neyther cumbered with ouer great multitude, nor pestred with too much baggage. They wanted not in any place either ground for their encamping, or

vidua

vidualles for their feeding, whereby their small number was always sufficient when they came to fight: Whereas Darius the Lord of so huge a multitude, through the streightnes of y^e ground wherein he was driuen to giue battaile, coulde worke but the effect of a small number, being the thing which hee before had despised in his enimie. Alexander appointed to Abistamines the rule of Cappadocia, and marching with his armie towardes Cilicia, came to the place called Cyzus Campe, because Cyzus lodged there, when he passed into Licia against king Cressus. This place was distant about 50. furlonges from the straight, entering into Cilicia. The country men vse to call those streights Pylæ whereas the naturall situation of the place had made a fortification, as it were with mans hands. When Arsanes gouernour of Cilicia vnderstode of Alexanders comming, remembering what opinion Memnon was of in the beginning of the warres put in execution his wise counsell, when it was too late, wasting and destroying throughout Cilicia, all such things as he thought might stande his enimie in stead, leauing the countrey wast, which he thought hee was not able to defende: where as it had bene much better to haue taken the straight before his enemies, where from the hilles lying ouer the waye, he might without hazarde, eyther haue lettred his entrie, or els haue distressed him in his passing. But he leauing a small number for the defence of y^e straight

D. J.

retie

retired himselfe backe to waste the Countrey, which his parte had bene to defende from destruction. By his departure it came to passe, that such as hee lefte behinde, thinking themselves betrayed, would not so much as abyde the sighte of their enemies, when a much lesse number had bene sufficient to haue kepte the passage. For the situation of Cilicia is suche, that it is enuironed rounde about with a continuall rough and steape mountayne, which rising from the Sea on the one side, and fetching a compasse about, ioyneth againe with the Sea on the other side. Through the parte of y^e mountaine which lyeth furthest from the Sea, there bee three narrowe and rough passages, by one of the which they must enter, that will passe in to Cilicia. The Countrey towarde the Sea, is plaine and full of Ryuers, amongst the which twoo bee notable, Pyramus and Cydnus, but Cydnus most speciall, not so much for the greatnes, as for the clearenes of his water, which from his first spring runneth pleasantly through all the Countrey, and hath no other Ryuer running into him to disturbe the purenesse of hys streame. For which cause it remaineth alwayes cleare, and also colde, by reason of the wooddes that doe shadowe all the bankes. Time hath consumed manie antiquities within that countrey, which be remembered of the Poets.

There may yet bee seene the foundations of the Citties of Lirnessus and Cebebus, with the

caue

caue and wood of Coricius, where Saffron groweth, with manie other thinges, whereof nothing remaineth sauving onely the same. When Alexander entred the streights before mentioned, & beheld the situation of them, he neuer in all his life marueiled more of his own felicitie and good fortune: confessing that it had not been possible for him to haue passed, if anye had stande at defence against him: for that with stones onely he might haue bene distressed, the streight besides being so narrowe, that there could not passe aboue foure in a front. To the increase of which difficultie, the toppes of the mountaines hung ouer the wayes, which in manie places were broken and made hollowe, with the streames that ranne downe from the hilles. Alexander sent the Thracians that were light armed, to stoze and discover the wayes, for feare the enemies should lye there in bushmen, and sodainly breake forth vpon him. He appoynted also a band of archers to take the top of the hill, which were willed so to march, that they might bee alwayes in a readines to fight. After this manner he came with his armie to the Citie of Larson, which was sette on fire by the Persians, because that Alexander should finde no harborow there. But Parmenio was sent thither with a choyse number of horsemen to quench the fire. Who vnderstanding that the enemies were fledde awaye through his commyng, entered into the Cittie, and by that meanes saued it from

D.ij.

burning.

burning. The Ryuer of Cydnus spoken of before, did run thzough this Citie, where the king arriued about middaye, it beeing in the sommer season, what time the heate is no where more feruent then in that countrey. He tooke such delight in the pleasauntnes of the water, that hee would needes bathe his bodie, to wash away the swette and dust he had caught. And beeing in a heate entered naked into the the water in euery mans sight, thinking it should bee a contentation to his souldiers, to see that the ornaments about his bodie were none other but such as they commonly vsed to weare. He was not so soon entered, but all the parts of his bodie began to shake and tremble, his face wared pale, and the liuelie heate was mortified in all partes of his bodie. His seruantes tooke him vp and carryed him into his tent, as one besides himselfe, and at that treime point of death. When there was a greate desolation and heauines in the Campe, they wepte, lamented, and bewailed, that such a king so noble a Capitaine as had not bene seene in any age, should thus bee taken from them in the chiefe of his enterpryse, and brunt of all his busines, and that after such a maner, not in battaile slaine by his enemies, but thus caste away by thing in a riuer. It greeued them that Darius nowe beeing at hande shoulde obteyne the victorie by such a chaunce, without seeing of his enemy, and that they should bee enforced to returne backe againe as men vanquished by those countreys,

treys, thzough the which they had passed before as victozers. In which countreys all things beeing destroyed by themselves or by their enemies it was of necessitie for them to die for hunger, though no man should pursue them. It became a question amongst themselves, who should bee their Capitaine in their fleyng away? or what hee were that durst succede Alexander? And though they mighte safely arriue at the Sea of Helespont, yet who shoulde prepare them passage there. When they had disputed these questions, their argument by and by was turned into compassion towardes their Prince, lamenting as men out of their wittes, that such a flower of youth, such a force of courage as was in him, that the same their kyng and companyon in armes, shoulde after this sorte bee taken from them. In the meane season Alexander beganne to fetche hys wynde some what better, and when hee came vnto himselfe, hee lysted vp hys eyes, and beganne to knowe his frendes that were about him. That the vehemence of hys sicknesse somewhat asswaged, was perceiued in that he beganne to vnderstande the perill hee was in. But the pensiuenes of his minde was great hinderance vnto his health, for tidinges came that Darius within fise dayes would bee in Cilicia, which was the chiefe thinge that made him to sorrow and lament. Hee coulde not take it but greuouslie, that such a victorie shoulde bee plucked out of his handes thzough
D.ij. his

his infirmitie. And that hee shoulde bee taken as one tyed in fetters, and be put to some shamefull and vile death. He called therefore to him both his frendes and Physitions and sayd vnto them: We see in what state of my busines fortune hath taken mee. Wee thinke the noyse of mine enemies doe ringe in mine eares, and I whiche moued firste the warre, am now challenged and prouoked to the fight. When Darius did write to mee such proude letters, he was not ignorant of mine estate. Yet peradventure hee shall be receiued, if I may vse mine owne minde in recouery of mine owne health. My case requieth no slacke medicinies, nor slowe Physitions: I had rather dy stoutly at once, then to consume long time in my recouerie. Wherefore if there be anie hope or cunning in physick, let it be shewed. And thinke that I seeke not remedie so much for mine owne life, as I doe for the care I haue to encounter with mine enemies. When they heard him speake these wordes, they were in great doubt of his sodaine rashnes, and therefore euerie one required him aparte, that hee would not increase his perill through anie hast, but suffer himselfe to be ordred by the aduyse of his Physitions. For they alleadged that vnproued remedies were not suspected of them wythout cause, seeing his enemy had gone about to corrupt such as were about him, by promising a M. tallentes to his killer, which cause alleadged, they thought no man would be so bolde to make

make any experience of physick vpon him, which for the want of triall thereof, might in any wise giue cause of suspition. There was amongst the excellent phisitions that came with Alexander out of Macedon, one Philip of Acarnon, which was preferred to him for the preseruatiō of his heath, and had faithfully serued him from his childhood, and therefore loued him with entire affection. He promised to prouide for the king an approued medicine, but such a one as would work vehemently: but by the drinking thereof, he doubted not (he saide) but to expulse the force of his disease. That promise pleased no man but onely him which in the proue thereof shoulde abide the perill. For he could endure all thinges better then delay. Darius and his power were alwaies in his eye, & he had an assured confidence y the victorie shoulde fall on his side, if he mighte be able but to stand in the sight of his men. The thing that onely greued him was, that y Physition would not minister befoze the third day. In the meane season Parmenio, whome of all his nobilitie he trusted moste, had exhorted him by his letter, that he shoulde not comit himselfe to y cure of Philip, for that he was corrupted by Darius with a thousand talents, and the promise of his sister in marriage. Those letters brought the king in great care and doubte, and moued him to weigh and ponder secretly with himselfe, all those thinges, that eyther feare or hope coulde put in his heade. Shall I aduenture (thought he)

D.iiij.

he)

he) to drinke this medicine? What if it be poy-
son? Shall I not then bee accounted the cause of
mine owne death? Shall I suspect the fidelitie of
my Whisition? or shall I suffer mine enemye
to kill me in my bed? yet were it better for mee
to perish by other mens treason, then thus to die
through mine owne faint heart. His minde be-
ing thus diuerslie wrought, hee woulde shewe
the contentes of the letter to no man, but sealed
it with his owne ring, and laide it vnderneath
his pillowe. Two dayes were passed in these
imaginations, and the third daye the Whisiti-
on came to his beddes side with the medicine
readie made. When the King salve him, hee
raysed vp himselfe vpon his elbowe, and taking
the letter in his lefte hand, with the other hand
tooke the cuppe, and straigh, supped it of. When
he had so done, hee deliuered the letter to Phi-
lip to reade, and whilest he was reading, hee
behelde him continually in the face, supposing
that if hee had bene faultie, some token would
haue appeared in his countenance. When Phi-
lip had read the letter, hee shewed moze tokens
of displeasuntnes then of feare, and therewith
all fell dowe vpon his knees, and saide: Sir, I
see my life doth depende vppon your health, but
your recouerie shal declare that I am falsly char-
ged with this treason: therefore when by my
meanes you shall get your health, I truste you
will not then denie me my life. In the meane
season lay feare aside, and suffer the medicine to
worke,

worke and to haue his operation. Keepe your
mynd quiet, and suffer not your selfe to be trou-
bled with the superstitious carefulnesse of your
friends, which though it proceedeth of good will,
is notwithstanding much impediment vnto
your health. His wordes not onely satisfied the
king, but made him to conceiue perfite hope of
his recouery, and sayd vnto Philip: If y gods
would haue graunted thee to deuise a meane to
proue the confidence I haue in thee, and the
good wil I beare thee, thou couldst not haue cho-
sen any so good as this is: for notwithstanding
the letter, I dranke of the medicine, beleuyng
thee to be no lesse carefull for declarations of
thine owne trueth, then for my health, & there-
with gaue him his hand. Yet afterwards when
the medicine began to worke, it was such in o-
perations, that it seemed to verifie Parmenis
his accusation: for he fainted oft, & had much
labour to draue his breath. When Philip left
nothing vnprooued or vndone that might serue
for his purpose. He laied warme clothes to his
body, and alwayes as he fainted, reuiued hym
againe with the saueur of one thing and other.
And when he perceiued him once to come to
himselfe, he ceased not to feede him with talke,
and one while put him in remembrance of his
mother and his sisters, and another while of the
great victorie that was at hand. When y power
of the medicine was once entred into his beines
there appeared streight in all partes of his body
manifest

manifest tokens of healch. First quicknes came to the spirits, and after the body recovered his strength, a great deale sooner then any man looked, for the third day after he had bene in this case he walked in the sight of the souldiours, which wonderfully reioiced to see him. And they shewed no lesse affection vnto Philip, whom euery one seuerally embraced and gaue him thanks, as if he had bene a God. It can not be expressed besides that naturall veneration that Macedones vsd to beare vnto their prince, in what reuerence they especially had Alexander, and how feruently they loued him. They had conceyued of him an opinion that he could enterpryse nothyng but that it was furthered by God, and fortune was so fauourable vnto hym, that his rashnesse was alwayes an increase of his glozy. His age besides scarcely ripe and yet sufficient for so great thinges, did marueilously set forth all hys doyngs. And thinges which out of the warres should bee counted lightnesse, are wont to be most acceptable to the souldiours, as the exercising of his body amongst them, his apparell not differing from y^e common sort, with his courage and forwardnes in the field, which giftes giuen him of nature, and thinges besides done of policie, did get hym both loue and reuerence of his people. When Darius heard of Alexanders sickness, he marched towarde the riuer of Euphrates with all the hast he could make, in conueying of so com-

brous

brous an army. He made there a bridge, and in xv. dayes passed ouer, his people hauing great desire to get Cilicia before his enemy. By that tyme Alexander had recovered his strength, and was come to a city called Solos, which the inhabitants yelded vnto him, and for two hundred talents obtained assurance. Notwithstanding he put a garison in the castle, and there celebrated playes and triumphes which hee had vowed to Aesculapius and Minerva, for the recovery of his health: where being giuen so quietly to his pastime, shewed how little he esteemed the coming of his enemies. Whiles Alexander was busied about these thinges, he receiued pleasaunt newes how his men had won a battail of the Persians at Halicarnassus, and that the Indians and Catonians with diuers other nations in those partes were brought vnder his obedience. This triumph once ended, he removed, and by a bridge made ouer the riuer of Pyramus, he came to the city of Halon, and from thence with another remoue, came to a Towne called Castabulon. Where Parmenio returned to the king, which had bene sent to search the streights that lay betwene them and the Citie of Isson. Hee had prevented the Persians at the passage, and so leauyng men for the defence thereof, tooke the Citie of Isson that was lesse desolate. Hee departed from thence, and did driue the Persians out of the mountains, searching and clearing al y^e wayes.

So

So that hauing made all things sure for the army to passe, he returned againe both the author of the acte, and reporter of the thing done. Alexander encamped within the citie, and there debated in counsaile, whether it were better to passe on further, or els to tary ther, for a greater power which was commyng to him out of Macedon. Parmenio was of opiniõ that this place was most meetest to abide Darius in, and giue him battaile, where both the armies should bee of like force by reason of the streights, wherein no great multitude could fight at once. He shewed reasons why they ought to eschew y^e plaines, wherein their enemies should haue great aduantage through their great number that myght enclose them about. Wherein (he sayd) he doubted not his enemies stoutnes, but onely feared that their owne men might be ouercome with wearines, where a multitude should fight with a fewe, and fresh men succæde in the place of al them that fainted. This counsaile was receiued for good, and Alexander determined in the same place to abide his enimies. There was in y^e host of the Macedons one Sysenes a Persian, sent before tyme from the gouernour of Egypt vnto king Philip: who being aduanced with reward and promotions, chose to liue out of hys owne countrey, and so folowing Alexander into Asia, was esteemed amongst those that the king trusted well. A souldiour of Crete deliuered him a letter from Pabarzanes Darius lieutenant.

wherein

wherein he exhorted him to do some notable enterprise, whereby he might winne fauour & reputation with Darius. Sysenes innocent of this matter, was about diuers times to present the letter to the king, but seeing him occupied with weighty affaires of prouision for the battaile, prolonged the matter. And whiles he waited for a more conuenient tyme, he brought himselfe in suspicion of treason. For the letter was brought to the kings hands before it was deliuered vnto him: who reading it, did seale the same with a straunge seale, and caused it to be deliuered to Sysenes, to proue thereby his fidelitie. But because he concealed the thing many dayes, and opened not the matter to the king, it seemed that he consented thereunto: And therefore by the kings commaundemēt he was put to death by the band of the Cretensians. The Greeke souldiours which Themodes had receiued of Pharnabazus (being those that Darius trusted most) were come vnto him. They perswaded much Darius to retire backe into the plaines of Mesopotamia, and if he would not do so, that at the least he should deuide his power, and not commit the whole force of his estate to one stroke of fortune. This counsaile was not so displeasing vnto the king, as it was to such that were about him. For they said, mercenary souldiers were alwaies full of treason, and were to bee doubted the more for that they counsailed the army to be deuided, which was for no other purpose,

purpose, but onely that they might haue commoditie to flie vnto Alexander, whē they should haue any charge committed vnto thē. There is nothing therefore more sure for vs (quoth they) then to enclose them round about with our army, and to cut them in peeces, for an example to the world, that treason should neuer bee left vireuenged. But Darius which was of a meek and good disposition, refused to commit so cruel an acte, in slaying such as had betaken themselves to his trust. For if we should soile our handes (quoth hee) with their bloude, what strange nation would euer then commit themselves into our handes? alleadging that there ought no man to lose his life for giuing foolish counsaile. For who would be bold to giue counsaile, if in counsailling there should be any peril? I call you (quoth he) to counsaile daily, and heare the diuersitie of your opinions, and yet mistrust not them that giue me not alwayes the best counsaile. He caused the Grækes to be answered, that he gaue him thanks for their good will. But in returning backe (he sayd) he should giue vp his countrey into his enemies handes, which were not conuenient. And considering the force, the same is of, in the warre, in goyng back he should appeare to flie. But to deferre the fight, he thought it worst of all, seing so great an army as he had (the winter thē approaching) could not be vitailed in a desolate countrey, that had been wasted both by themselves & by

by their enemies. And for the deuiding of his power he shewed that he could not do it, obseruing the customes of his predecessours, which were not wont to hazard the battaile, but with whole power. He declared that Alexander before his coming seemed terrible to the world, and through his absence was brought in a vain presumption. But after he saw him come forwards, became wary & wel aduised, hiding him in the streights of the mountains, like those cowardly beasts, which hearing the noise of commers by, do hide themselves in the denues of the woodes. He hath blinded his souldiours (quoth he) with his counterfeit sicknesses, but now I will not suffer him to prolong the fight any longer, which if he wil refuse, I will oppresse him in his lurking hole. These words he spake with greater baunt then trueth, & sent his treasure and iewels with a small conuoy to Amasco in Syria, & entered with his army into Cilicia, bringing with hym according to his countrey maner, both his mother, his wife, his little sonne, and his daughters. It chanced the same night that Alexander was come to the stright entering into Syria, Darius came vnto the place which they call *Pila America*: the Persians not doubtyng at all, but that the Macedons would haue forsaken the citie of Issus, & fled away for feare. For certaine of them that were weake and could not follow the army were taken, & which Darius through instigation of the great men about him,

him, raging in barbarous crueltie, caused their hands to be cut off, and to be led about his cape, to the entent they might behold the multitude of his men, whom after sufficient view taken, he let them goe to shew Alexander what they had scene. Darius remoued and passed the riuer of Pyramus, purposing to pursue after the Macedons, which he thought had bene flying away. They which had their hands cut off, came running in amongst the Macedons, declaring that Darius was coming in great hast. There was scarcely any credite giuen to their wordes, but to be sure Alexander sent spies toward the Sea coast, to know whither Darius were there in person, or els had sent some other to make a shew of a power. The spies returning, did report that his whole army was at hand, and straightwayes the fires might be scene, which gaue such a shew (by reason they lay stragling so far abroad to get forage) as though y^e whole countrey had bene on fire. When Alexander was ascertained of the trueth, he encamped in the same place where the tidings came vnto hym, being marvellous glad because he knew he should fight, specially in the streights, being the thing that he had alwayes desired. But as it is commonly scene, when danger and extremity is at hand, confidence is conuerted into feare. So he doubted not without great cause, that fortune might change vpon him, by whose fauour he had done so great actes, and considered her

muta-

mutabilitie by such thinges, as she had taken from other, and giue to him. He saw there was no prorogation of the time, but that after one night passed, the victorie should be determined. Yet on the other side, he called vnto remembrance how the reward ensuing of the victorie, farre exceeded the aduventure. For as the chaunce was doubtfull, so being discomfited, he was certayne to die with honour and perpetual praise. When he had wayed these thinges, he gaue order that the souldiours should refresh themselves, and at the third watch to be armed in a readinesse to set forwards. He himselfe went vpon into the top of a mountaine with many torches and lightes about him, where he made sacrifice vnto y^e gods after his countrey maner. And when the houre was come appointed vnto the souldiers, at the third sound of the trumpet, they were in a readines both to march and fight. When exhortation was giuen vnto them to passe on with bold courage, and so by the spring of the day they were come to the streights, wherein their purpose was to preuent Darius. By that time such as were sent before to skoure the country, came in, and reported that the Persians were within thirtie furlonges. Then the battayles were stayed and set in such order as they should fight. Like as Alexander was enformed of Darius, so he was aduertised of Alexander by the peasauntes of the countrey, which came fearfully runnyng vnto him, declaring that Alexander

C. i.

der

der was at hande. These wordes were not be-
lieued: for they coude not thinke them to be
connyng, whome they thought before to be
fledde. But when they perceiued that it was
so in dede, because they were in better order to
pursue their enemies then to encounter with
them in battaile, they were stricken with a mar-
ueilous sodaine feare. Euery man tooke him to
his armour in haste. Which haste, and the cal-
lyng that one made vpon an other, dyd put a
great feare amongst them. Some ranne vp to
the toppes of the hil'es to view the Macedones,
other fell to bridelyng their horses. So that the
hoste full of diuersitie, and not ruled by any cer-
tayne gouernement, with their hurley burley,
put all thinges out of order. Darius at the first
had appoynted one part of his power to take
the mountaine, which setting vpon his ene-
mies backes, might enclose them both behynd
and before: and assigned an other company to
passe along the sea side, which was on the right
hande, to keepe his enemies doyng on euery
part. Hee gaue order also that twentie thou-
sand footemen with a band of Archers should
passe the Riuer of Hyxamus, and giue an on-
set that way. But if they founde any impedi-
ment why they might not doe so, then hee wil-
led them to retire amongst the mountaynes,
and inuade their enemies on their backes.
But fortune which was of greater force then
any pollicie, determined those thinges that
were

were well deuised, accordyng as the thought
good. For some durst not for feare execute the
thing that was commaunded them, and then
the rest worked in bayne, for where the mem-
bers fayle, the whole body is confounded. The
order of Darius armie stode thus aranged to
fight: his power beyng deuided into two bat-
tailes: one marchyng on the lefte hand, and
the other on the right. Nabarzanes empaled
the battail on the right hand with a great pow-
er of horsemen, and xxx. thousand Slingers
and Archers. Themones was also in the bat-
taile with xxx. thousand mercenarie Grekes,
beyng in very dede Darius chieffest force, a
power equall vnto Phalangy of the Macedones.
In the battaile on the lefte hand, Aristomenes
was in the forefront with thirtie thousande
footemen, hauyng planted for his succours and
reliefe, such nations as were counted most va-
liaunt. There were about the kyng beyng al-
so in the battaile, three thousand choise horse-
menne, that were of the ordinarie garde of
hys personne, and fourtie thousand footemen,
with the horsemen of Hircanie, and Media,
and the horsemenne of other nations that
were wynges on both sides. And besides these
numbers there went before his battaile in a
forlorne hope, sixe thousande Slingers and
casters of dartes. All the playne grounde be-
twene the streightes, was filled with men of
warre, and Darius battaile stode aranged
C.ij. from

from the mountaine downe to the sea side. The mother and wyfe of Darius with all the flocks of women, were receyued in the middest of the battaile, Alexander on the other side set hys square battaile of footemen called *Phalanx* (beyng the *Macedones* chiefeest force) in the forefront. *Picanoz* the sonne of *Parmenio* was capitaine of the battaile on the right hand, and with him *Cenos* and *Verdicas*, *Meleager*, *Pto- lomeus*, and *Amintas* were ioyned euery one with his owne band. *Parmenio* and *Caterus* had the rule of the battaile on the left hande, which stretched towards the Sea, but *Parmenio* had the chiefe charge. Horsemen were set in winges to both those battailes. The *Macedon* men, and *Thessalian* horsemen beyng appointed to the right hand battaile, and the horsemen of *Deloponese* to the battaile on the other side, before which battaile, there were also set slingers with archers amongst them, & the *Cretensians* that were lightly armed, went before the maine battaile. The band of *Agrians* that were lately come out of *Greece*, were assigned to encounter those that *Darius* had sent to take the top of the mountaine. He willed *Parmenio*, that as much as he might, he should stretch out his band towards the Sea, to withdrawe so far as he could from the hilles which the enemies had taken: But such as had direction by *Darius* to take the hils, neither durst resist such as came against them, nor yet compassse about such

as

as were passed by them, but fled away at the first sight of the *Slingers*. Which thing chaunced wel for *Alexander*, for it was the thyng that he doubted most, that they from the hygher ground should inuade the open side of his battaile, which lay vnflanked towards them. The *Macedones* marched *xxxij.* in a ranke, for the straightnes of the ground would not suffer the to goe any broader, but by litle and litle as the plaine betwene the mountaines began to enlarge, so they had libertie both to make their battailes broader, and also for the horsemen to march vpon the sides. When both the battels were come within sight together, the *Persians* first gaue a terrible and rude shout, which was againe doubled of the *Macedons*, not with their number, which were farre inferiour vnto the *Persians*, but with the rebound of the hils and the rocks, which doubled euery voyce of theirs. *Alexander* did ride vp and downe before the frontes of his battailes, making a signe to his souldiours with his hand, that they should not make ouer much hast to ioyne with their enemies, for bringing themselves out of breath. And as he passed by, he vsed to euery nation sundry exhortations, as he thought meete for their dispositions and qualitie. He put the *Macedons* in remembraunce of their olde prowesse and manhode, with the number of battailes that they had wonne in *Europe*, how that they were come thither as well by their owne

C.ij.

desires

desires as by his conduct, to subdue Asia and the uttermost boundes of the Orient. He shewed them to be the people that were ordained to conquer the worlde, and to passe the boundes both of Hercules and Bacchus. He declared that both Bactria and Indes should be theirs, in respect of which the countreys that they had scene were but trifles, and yet were to be gotten all with one victory: wherein (he sayde) their trauaile should not be in vayne, as it was in the barreine rockes of Allyzia, or in y^e mountaynes of Thrace, but that in this conquest the spoyle of the whole Orient was offered vnto them. For the getting whereof, they should scarcely neede to occupy their swordes, since the battailes of their enemies wauered so alreadie for feare that with their appoche onely they should put them to flight. He reduced his father Philip vnto their memory, how he conquered the Athenians with the countrey of Boetia, where he razed to the ground the noble City of Thebes. After that he made rehearfall of the battaile wonne at the Riuer of Granike, and of all the cities that hee had taken, or that had been yeilded vnto him, with the countreys they had passed thorow and subdued. When he came vnto the Graekes, he desired them to call to mynde the great warres that had bene made against their countrey in tymes past by y^e Persians. First by the pride of Xerxes, and after by Darius, who made destruction both by water

and

and land in such sort, that the riuers coulde not serue them of drinke, nor the earth of victuals for to eate: rehearsing also how the temples of their gods had been by them polluted and put to ruine, their cities ouerthrowen, and the truces and promises by them violated and broken, that were confirmed both by diuine and humaine lawes. When he passed by the Allyzians and Thracians which were accustomed alwaies to liue vpon theft and spoile: he bade them behold their enemies which glistered with golde, and bare no armour, but spoyle for them to take. He encouraged them to goe forwardes lyke men, and plucke the praye from those effeminate women, and to make exchaunge of their craggy rockes and bare hilles alwayes full of Snowe, for the plentifull groundes and riche landes of Persia. By the tyme hee had made these exhortations, they were come within the throwe of their Dartes. And Darius horsemen gaue a fierce charge vpon the right hand battaile of the Macedonians. For Darius desire was to trie the battaile by horsemen, iudging (as it was in dede) that the chiefe power of his enemies consisted in their square battaile of footemen. So that the battaile where Alexander remained, was brought to the poynt of enclosing about, if he had not perceiued the same in time, who commanded two troupes of his horsemen to keepe the top of the hill, & brought all the rest to the encounter of hys enemies.

. iij.

Then

Then he conueyed the Thessalian horsemen from the place where they stode to fight, wil-
lyng their Capitaine to byng them about be-
hynde the battailes, and there ioyning with
Parmenio, to doe the thyng manfully that hee
should appoynt them. By this the Phalanx of
the Macedones in maner enclosed about with
their enemies, fought notably on all partes,
but they stode so thicke, and were so ioyned
one to another, that there wanted scope to
welde their dartes. They were so mingled to-
gether, that in casting one letted another, be-
ry fewe lighted vpon the enemies with weake
dintes, & the most part fell on the ground with-
out harme doyng, wherefore beyng enforced to
ioyne hand for hand, they valiauntly vsed the
sword. When there was great effusion of blood:
for both the armies closed so neere, that their
harnesse clashed together, weapon against wea-
pon, and foyned one at anothers face with their
swords. There was no place for the fearefull
or the colward for to ste backe, but eche set his
fote to another, and by fighting, kept still their
place, til they could make their way by force, &
so alwaies passed forwards, as they had once o-
uerthrowen their enemies. As they were wried
& trauailed thus with fighting, they were euer
receiued w fresh enemies: & such as were woun-
d, might not depart out of y battell (as it hath
bene seen elsewhere) their enemies assailed thē so
forcely before, & their fellows thrust on so hard
behind.

behind. Alexander y day did not only such things
as pertained to a Capitaine, but aduentured
himselſe as farre as any priuate souldier, coue-
ting by all meanes to kill Darius, which hee e-
steemed the greatest honour. Darius did ride a-
loft vpon his chariot, giuing great prouocation
both to his enemies to assaile him, and for hys
owne men to defend him. As Oratres his bro-
ther appeared most notable amongst them all
in his furniture and personage, so in hardinesse
and affection towarde the king he exceeded far
the rest, speciallie in that case of necessitie. For
when he sawe Alexander approach so neare, hee
thrust in before Darius with y band of horsmē,
whereof he had the charge, whereas ouerthrow-
ing diuers, he put many to flight. But the Ma-
cedons swarmed so about the king, and were in
such a courage by the exhortatiō that ech made
to other, that they charged again vpon the band
of horsemen. When the slaughter was great, and
the ouerthrowe manifest. About the chariot of
Darius, the noblest of his capitaines lay dying
honourably in the sight of their prince. For like
as they receiued their deathes woundes, so they
fell without turning their backs. Amongst the
Arices, Romythes, and Sabaces, gouernors
of Egypt, hauing the charge of great numbers
of men, were ouerthrowne and slaine, and about
them there lay by heapes a huge number of the
vulgar sorte, both of horsemen and footmen. Of
the Macedons also some were slaine, specially of

such as pressed most forward, amongst whom the righte shoulder of Alexander lightlye was hurte with a sword. In this throng the horses that drew Darius chariot, were thrust in with pikes, which being wood for paine of their wounds, beganne to struggle and overthrowe their maister. He fearing therefore to be taken alive, leaped downe, and was set vpon a ledde horse, and so fledde away, casting his Diademe from his head, because he would not be known. When all his men for feare disparkeled, fledde by such waies as were open for them, and threw away their armour, which before they had taken for their defence: Such a thing is feare, that refuseth the thing that should be his safegarde. When Parmenio sawe them flie, he straight commanded the horsemen to pursue them in the chase, and put all his enemies to flighte, that were on that parte. But on the other hand, the Persians put the Thessalian horsemen to a sore distresse, for at the first shooke they had broken one of their troupes: yet for all that when the Thessalians sawe their enemies passe through them, they closed themselves together againe, & charged vpon the Persians, who by reason of their onset giuing, and for that they thought themselves sure of the victorie, became cleane out of order, and were overthrowne with great slaughter. The Thessalians had herein a great advantage, by reason that the Persians besides that they be armed themselves, haue their horses al-

so barbed with plates of Steele, which was the cause they could not on the onset, or retyre be so quicke as the Thessalians were: for by their celeritie, wherein the feate of horsemen chiefly consisteth, they had overthrowne manie of them before they could turne their horses about. When Alexander vnderstode that his men preuailed of their enemies on that parte likewise, he was bolde to followe in the chase, which hee durst not doe before he knew the battaile to be clearly wonne, and the enemies repulsed on all sides. Alexander had not about him aboue a thousand horsemen, with whom he slew innumerable of his enemies. For who is he y in an overthrowe or chase can number men? Those fewe Macedons did driue the multitude of their enemies before them like sheepe, and the same feare that caused them flie, staied them likewise in their flying. The Grecians that were on Darius side vnder their Capitaine Amintas (which sometime had bene in great authoritie with Alexander, but then against him) brake out from y rest, and marched away in order of battaile. All the rest fledde diuers waies, some directly towarde Persia, and some by pathes and priue waies escaped by the mountaines and the wooddes. A fewe there were that recouered their former campe, which they could not defende anye time against the Macedons that were victours, but the same immediately was wonne, being abundant of all riches, of golde and siluer, ap-
partai-

pertaining not onely to the wars, but to all voluptuousnesse and excesse: which riches whiles the souldiers violently spoyled, they strowed the waies full of packes and fardels, which they would not touch, in respect of the couetous desire they had to thinges of greater value. But when they came vnto the women, as their tirements was most pretious, so the more violently they plucked them away, and their bodies were not free from their lust and enforcement. The campe euerie where was full of tumult and lamentation, as chaunce fell to ech one. The licentiousnes of the victozers was such, that their crueltie raged vppon all ages and kinde of creatures, and no kinde of mischief wanted among them. There might haue bene seene the variablenes of fortune, when they which had prepared Darius pavilion with all kinde of delicacie and rich furniture, reserued and kept the same for Alexander as for their olde maister. For the Macedons had left that vnspoyled according to their auncient custome, which are euer wont to receiue their king when he is victorious, into the kings pavilion that he hath vanquished. The mother and wife of Darius that were there taken prisoners, moued all men to cast their eyes & inward contemplation towarde them, where of the one deserued to be reuerenced for the maiestie that was in her, and for her age, and the other for the excellencie of her beautie, which thorough her misadventure was nothing stay-

ned.

ned. She was seene embracing her little sonne in her armes, not yet of the age of vi. yerres, born as inheritour to the dominion which his father newly had lost. There lay also two young virgins in their grandmothers lap, euen then marriageable, which then languished and lamented not so much through their owne priuate sorrow as for the dolorousnes of the old woman. About the mother and the wife were a great number of noble women, that pulled their haire, & tare their clothes, without respect what appertained to their estate. Who vnmindfull of the fall Darius wife and his mother were come vnto, called them still by the name of Queens, with such other titles of honour as they did befoze. They all forgetting their owne miserie, were diligent to enquire the fortune of the field, and what successe the battaile had where Darius was. For if hee were alieue (they saide) they coulde in no wise think themselves prisoners. But he by the chaunging of manie horses, was by that time fledde farre away. There were slaine of y Persian footmen a hundred thousand, and ten thousand horsemen. And of Alexanders company one 504. hurt, and 32. footmen, and a 150. horsemen killed. So great a victorie was gotten with so small a losse. Alexander that was wearied with pursuing of Darius, when he perceiued y night to drawe on, and that there was no hope to ouertake him whome he followed, returned into the Persians campe, which a little befoze his coming

comming was taken by his men. That nighte he made a banquet to such as he accustomed to eat, for the hurt of his shoulder, wherof the skin being but finally perished, letted him not to keep companie. As they sate at meate, sodainly they heard a pittifull crie with a straunge howling & lamentation, that put them all in great feare: In so much that the bande that kept the watch about the kings pavilion, fearing it to be the beginning of some great matter, began to arme themselves. The wife and mother of Darius, with the other noble women newly taken prisoners, were the cause of his sodaine feare, by lamenting of Darius, whom they supposed had bene slaine. Which opinion they conceived thorough one of the Eunuches, which standing before their tent doore, sawe a souldier carie a parcell of Darius diademe, which he a little before had cast from his head. When Alexander understood their errour, he wept (as it was said) to consider Darius misfortune, and the womens affection towards him. And for their comforte sente to them one Mithrenes that betrayed Sardes, who was expert in the Persian tong, but yet considering that the sight of him being a traitor should but increase their sorrowe, sente a noble man called Leonatus, to declare to them howe they were deceived, and that Darius was alive. He came towarde the tent where the women were, with certayne men in harnesse, and sente worde before, that he was come thither

front

from the King. But when such as stood at the tent doore sawe armed men comming, supposing their errand had bene to murther their mistresses, ranne in to them, and cried out that their last houre was come, for the men were at hand that were sent to kill them. The servants therefore that neyther durst let Leonatus in, nor keepe him out, brought him no answer, but remained quietlie to see what hee would doe. When Leonatus had long taried at the doore, and sawe none came forth to call him in, he left his men without, and entred amongst the women. Whose comming vnto them before hee was admitted, was the thing that feared them most of all. The mother therefore and wife of Darius fell downe at his feete, requiring him yf before they were slaine, he would suffer them to burie Darius after his countrey maner: which last obseruance perfourmed, they were content (they saide) gladly to suffer death. Leonatus assured them that both Darius was alive, and that there was no harme towarde them, but they should remaine in the same estate they were in before. When Sisigambis heard those wordes, she suffered her selfe to be lifte vp from the grounde, and to receiue some comfort. The next day Alexander with great diligence buried the bodies of such of his owne men as could bee found, and willed the same to be done to the noble menne of the Persians, giuing license to Darius mother to burie so many as shee liste,

after

after the custome of her countrey. She perfourmed the same to a fewe that were nexte of her kinne, according to the abilitie of her presente fortune, for if she would haue vsed the Persians pompe therein, the Macedons might haue enuied it, which being victors, vsed no great curiositie in the matter. When the due was performed to the deade, Alexander signified to the women prisoners, that he himselfe would come to visite them, and causing such as came with him to tarie without, he onely with Ephestion entred in amongst them. The same Ephestion of all men was moste deare vnto Alexander, brought vp in his companie from his youth, and most priuie with him in all things. There was none that had such libertie to speake his minde plainly to the king as he had, which he vsed after such sorte, that he seemed to doe it by no authoritis, but by sufferance. And as he was of like yeeres vnto him, so in shape and personage hee did somewhat excell him. Wherefore the women thinking Ephestion to bee the king, did fall downe and worship him (as their countrey manner was to doe to kings) till such time as one of the Eunuches which was taken prisoner, shewed which of them was Alexander. Then Sisigambis fell downe at his fete, requiring pardon of her ignorance, for so much as she neuer did see him before. The king tooke her vp by the hand, and said: mother, you be not deceived, for this is Alexander also. Which his humi-

litie

litie and continencie of mind, if he had continually obserued to his latter daies, he might haue bene thought much more happier then he was, when y he hauing subdued al Asia from Hellespont to the Ocean Sea, did counterfeite the triumphs of Bacchus. Or if that amongst the rest of his conquests, he would haue laboured to conquer his pride and his ire, being vices inuincible. Or if in his drunkennes he would haue abstained from the slaughter of his nobilitie, and not to haue put to death those excellent men of warre without iudgement, which helped him to conquer so many nations: But at this time the greatnes of his fortune had not yet altered his nature, though afterwardes hee coulde not beare his victories with that vertue he did win them. When hee behaued himselfe after such a manner, that he exceeded in continencie and compassion, all the kinges that had bene before his time. He entertained the two Quænes w those virgins that were of excellent beautie, so reuerently, as if they had bene his sisters. He not onlie abstained from all violacion of Darius wife, which in beautie excelled all the women of her time, but also tooke great care and diligence, y none other should procure her to any dishonour. And to all the women he commaunded their ornamentes and apparell should bee restored. So that they wanted nothing of the magnificence of their former estate, sauing onely the assured confidence that creatures wante in miserie.

F. i.

Which

Which thinges considered by Sisigambis, hee said vnto the king: Sir, your goodnesse towards vs doth deserue, that wee shoulde make nowe the same praier for you, that wee did sometime for Darius, & we perceiue you woorthy to passe so great a king as hee was in felicitie and good fortune, that abound so in iustice and clemency. You vouchsafe to cal me by the name of mother and Queene, but I confesse my selfe to be your handmaid. For both I conceyue the greatnes of my estate past, & feele that I can beare this present seruitude. It lyeth onely in your handes howe we shall bee dealt withall, and whether you will make vs notahle to the world, thzough your clemencie or crueltie. The king comforted them all he might, and willing them to bee of good cheare, tooke Darius sonne in his armes. Thereat the childe was nothing afraid, hauing neuer seene him before, but tooke and embraced him about the necke. Hee was so moued with the constancie of the childe, that he beheld Ephestion, and saide: Oh I would that Darius had had some parte of this gentle disposition. When he was departed from thence, hee caused three altars to bee made vppon the Ryuer of Pyramus, and there did sacrifice to Jupiter, Hercules, and Minerva, and so went forwarde into Syria. He sent Parmenio afoze vnto Damasco, whereas Darius treasure did remaine: who vnderstanding by the way that Darius had sent one of his nobles thither, fearing that for the

smal-

smalnes of his owne number the Damascens would keepe him out, determined to sende for a greater power. But by chaunce one Hardus fel into the hands of the horsemen, that he had sent before to scoure the Countrey, which beeing brought before Parmenio, deliuered him the letters y the Capitaine of Damasco had sent to Alexander, and besides the letters, added of hymselfe, that he doubted not but all Darius riches and his treasure shoulde bee deliuered to him at his arriuall. Parmenio gaue the charge to certain of his men for his sure keeping, and then opened the letters, wherein it was conteined, that Alexander in all hast shoulde send one of his Capitaines thither with a small power. Which thing knowne, he sente Hardus backe againe to Damasco, with certaine to accompanie him, but he escaped out of their handes, and came to Damasco before daye light. That thing troubled greatly Parmenio, doubting that his enemies had laide some ambushment for him, and therefore durst not go an vnknowne way without a guide. Yet notwithstanding, vppon the confidence hee had in the felicitie of his Prince, tooke peasantes of the countrey to conduct him the way, which the iij. day brought him to the Citie of Damasco. The capitaine doubting the credence shoulde not bee giuen to his letter, pretended to mistrust the strength of the Towne, and made countenance as though he would flie away. By the spring of the daye, hee caused

H. G.

Darius

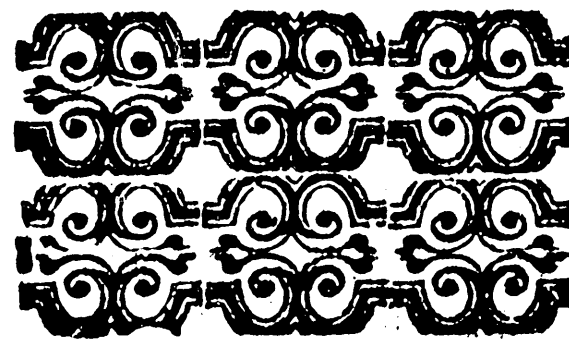
Darius treasure (which the Persians call *Gaza*) with the reste of all his pretious thinges to bee brought forth of the Towne, of purpose to betray the same into the Macedons hands. There were manie thousandes of menne and women that followed, a piteous sight to all them that sawe them, sauing to him, to whose fidelity they were committed. For hee to winne him selfe thanks, purposed to deliuer to the Macedons a pray more pretious then all the reste, which were such of the nobilitie as hee had in keeping, with the Wiues and childzen of great men that bare rule vnder Darius: and besides the Embassadors of the Cities of Græce, whome Darius had lefte in the traytours handes, as in a forresse to his thinking, of most suretie. The Persians call those (*Gangabe*) that carrie burthens vpon their shoulders, who hauing the carriage of thinges of mosse valure, when they could not endure the colde for the frosse and snowe that sodainly fell, they put vpon them the Roabes of cloth of Golde and purple, which they caried wrapt vp together with the money, there being no man to lette them: For the aduersitie of Darius caused that base sorte of men to vse a licentious libertie. Those kinde of men seemed to Parmenio at the firste sighte to be no small armie, and therefore regarded not the matter lightlie, but gaue exhortation to those that were with him, as though they should haue fought a sore battayle, and willed them to put
their

their spures to their horse, and giue the charge. Which thing perceiued by them that bare the burthens, they fledde away for feare, and so did the men of warre that were with them, by such waies as they best knewe. The Capitaine of Damasco, counterfeyting such feare as other feared in dede, was the cause of all this confusion. The riches of Darius was lefte alone, and leye sparkled abroad ouer all the fieldes, with the money that was prepared for the wages of so infinite a number of souldiers, and also the apparaile of so manie great men and noble Women, vessels of golden furnitures for horses, pauileons adorned with regal magnificence and Waggones full of infinite riches. A thinge euen sorrowfull to beholde to the spoilers, if any thing coulde stay the couetousnes of menne. Was it not a pittifull thing to beholde, the riches that had bene gathered together in so great number of yeares, whiles the state of the Persians stood in that incredible height of fortune, one parte to bee torne with bushes, and another drowned in the mire, it being so great besides, that the handes of the spoylers could not suffice for the spoyle. When the horsemen had ouertaken them that fledde, firste they founde diuers Women harping of the small childzen, amongst whome there were foure Virgins, the daughters of Dechus, that reigned nexte before Darius. They before that time had suffered change of fortune, when the state was altered

from their Fathers line. But this auerſitie was much more grieuous vnto them. There was in the ſlocke of the wife of Dechus, the daughter of Darius that was Darius brother, and the wife of Artabafus which was of the head house of Persia, with hys sonne also called Ilionefus. The wife and the sonne of Farnabafus were also taken; to whome Darius had committed the charge of all the Sea coastes, and with them the daughters of Mentor, the wife, and the sonne of the noble Capitayne Hemnon. There was scarcely anye house of the Nobilitie of Persia free from that euill aduventure. There were both Lacedemonians and Athenians, that contrarie to the league betwene Alexander and them, took Darius parte. Amongest the Athenians Aristogiton, Dripides, and Leuertes, were of most notable fame and linage. And of the Lacedemonians the chiefeſt were Merisippus and Onomastorides, with Dmams and Callicratides. The summe of the coyned money there taken, was two thousand threescore talentes, and of massy siluer five hundred talents. Beside thirtie thousand menne, and seven thousande beastes that carryed burdens on their backes. But the Goddes did persecute with due punishment the betrayer of such a treasure. For one whome hee had made priue to the matter, pittying therein the estate of his

his Prince, did ſlea the traytour, and brought his head to Darius. A comforte not vnapt for the time to the betraied king. For thereby hee was both reuenged of his enemye, and perceiued that the memorie due vnto his estate, was not growne out of all mens harts.

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THE FOUVRTH BOOKE OF QVIN-
tus Curtius of the Actes of the great
Alexander, King of Ma-
cedon.



Arius which a litle before was
Lorde of so great an armie, and
that came into the fiede carried
aloft vpon his chariot, moze like
to triumph then to fight, fled by
the places then waste and desert
which he before had filled with his infinite num-
bers of men of warre. There were but few that
followed him: For neither they fledde all one
way, nor such as followed could keep pace with
him that so often chaunged horses. At length he
went to Uinchas, where he was receiued of iij.
M. Greekes, which conducted him to the riuer
of Cuphrates, thinking all such his countries to
be lost, in the which he could not preuent Alex-
ander by haste making. Parmenio was appoin-
ted gouernour of Siria, and to be the keeper of
the treasure & prisoners which hee tooke at Da-
masco. The Sirians could not at the first beare
the newe gouernment, because they had not yet
felt the scourge of the warres, but as they reuol-
ted, they were straightway subdued, perfour-
ming all that they were appointed to doe. The
Isle of Arade, was yelden to Alexander, where
of

of Strato was king, that had in subiection all
the Sea coast, with diuers of the Island coun-
tries, who submitting himselfe, Alexander re-
moued to the citie of Marathon. There he re-
ceiued letters from Darius, that put hym in
great choler, because they were so arrogantly
written. The speciall point that moued Alex-
ander, was for that Darius writing himselfe
king, did not vouchsafe to giue him that title,
but did write rather by way of commaundement
then of request, preferring for the ransome of his
wife and childe, so much money as Macedon
could receiue. For the superiortie (he sayde) he
put it to his choise, to try it by the sword: if hee
list. But if he would be better aduised, he wil-
led him to be content with his owne enheritace,
and so he would ioyne in amitie with him, and
become his friend, in which point he was ready
to enter into treatie. Alexander did write to him
again after this manner: Darius whose name
thou hast vsurped, did great destruction vpon the
Greekes inhabiting on the coast of Hellespont, and vpon
the Ionians which be Greeke cities, passing from
thence the sea with a great army to make war against
Greece and Macedon. And also king Xerxes thy pre-
decessour came to subdue vs with infinite numbers,
which being vanquished in a battaile on the Sea, left
notwithstanding Mardonius behynd him in Greece,
to destroy their cities and burne their countreys. It is
manifest besides, that Philip my father was slaine by
such as were corrupted thereunto with your money.
Ye vndertake alwayes vniust warres, and occupying
armies, goe about for all that to circumuent men with
treason. As thou of late, hauing such number of men
in thy owne army, diddest procure my death with the
promise

promise of a thousand Talentes. I am not therefore the beginner of the warres, but repulse such iniuries as bee profered me. In doyng whereof (through the helpe of the gods which fauour alwayes the right) haue brought the more part of Asia vnder my subiection: and hauing ouercome thee in battayle by force of armes, there is no cause that I should graunt thee any thing, which hast not obserued towards me the law of armes, yet if thou wilt come and submit thy selfe, I promise thee that I will deliuer both thy mother, wife and children: for both I know how to get the victorie, & how to vse such as I ouercome, but if thou fearest to commit thy selfe to vs, I will giue thee safe conuite to come freely. In the rest when thou writest vnto me, remember that thou writest not onely to a kyng, but also vnto hym that is thy kyng. He sent this letter by Therisippus, and went from thence into Phenicia, where the Citie of Biblon was yelded vnto him. And so came vnto Sidon which was a Citie of great nobilitie, by reason of the antiquitie and fame of the builders. The same was vnder Stratos dominion, supported by the power of Darius, who yelding more by the constraint of the people, then of his owne good will, was thought unworthy to reigne there. Alexander made a graunt to Cephestion that he should make such one kyng, whom the Sidon thought most worthy that estate. There were diuers noble young men in that Citie that had familiaritie with Cephestion, of whome he purposed to haue chosen one kyng, but they refused his offer: affirmyng, that none might enioy that dignitie, except he were descended of the bloud royall. Cephestion wondered at the magnamitie that was in the,

in

in despising the thyng which other sought for by sword and fire, and therefore sayd: continue you still in that vertuous mynde, which be the first that haue vnderstanding, how much better it is to refuse then to receiue a kingdome. Chuse you therefore such one of the bloud royall, that may remember he hath receyued the rule at your handes. But when they sawe diuers gaping for it, and for the greedinesse they had to reigne, fell to flatterying of suche as were nere aboute Alexander, resolved that there was none more meete for that dignitie, then one Abbolominus, who beyng of the ancient bloude of the kynges, for pouertie was enforced to dwell in a small graunge without the Citie. His honesty was the cause of his pouerty (as it is to many other) and beyng occupied in his daily labour, heard no noyse of the warres that troubled all Asia. They of whome we spake of before, came into his garden with garmentes to apparell hym lyke a kyng, and found hym wædyng of his ground, whome they saluted kyng, and sayde: You must make exchange of the bylenesse of your apparell, with these riche robes we here present vnto you: Washe the bodye that is nowe foule and filthie, take vppon you the heart of a kyng, and in this fortune whereof you bee worthy, shew the same moderation and continencie you doe vse presently. And when you shall sitte in your Regall seate, hauing in your handes

handes power of the life and death of your people, do in no wise forget the estate ye were in when ye tooke the kingdome vpon you, nor yet for what purpose ye did receiue it. The matter seemed to Abdolominus like a dreame, and asked them if they were mad that would mocke him after that maner. But when he saw them affirme by othes the thing to be in earnest, he washed himselfe, and receiuing the garment which was of purple and gold, went with them into the palace. The same (as is wont in such a case) did notably runne abroad of this matter. Some fauoured the cause, and some did disdain it, but such as were rich, did reprove his pueritie and base estate to such as were neere about Alexander, which caused the king to sende for him, and when he had long beholde his behaviour, sayd: your personage doth not disagree to the fame of your linage. But I desire to knowe with what patience you did sustaine your pueritie. I would to God (quoth he) I could beare my prosperitie in like case now when I am a king. These handes did get that I desired, and hauing nothing, I lacked nothing. His wordes caused Alexander to conceiue of him a maruelous opinion, so that he gaue vnto him not only the riches, stuffe, and furniments appertaining to the king before, but also many thinges that were taken from the Persians, adding to his dominion all the countrey neere about the Citie. In the meane season Amintas with foure thousand

land Grekes that escaped with him out of the field, fled to Tripolis, where he embarked, and sayled vnto Cypres: thinking the world to bee such then, that euery one might enioy that hee could get, like as it had bene his owne inheritance. His purpose was to go into Egypt, thinking there to become enemy both to Darius & Alexander, and to waigh with the world, according as the tyme should alter. To bring therefore his souldiours to hope well of his enterprise, he declared how the gouernour of Egypt was slaine in the battell, and that the Persians left there in garison were but a small number, of little force, and without any head. He shewed how the Egyptians vsed to rebell against their gouernours, wherefore they were sure to be receiued as friends. For since necessitie (quoth hee) hath enforced vs to proue our fortunes, which failing vs in our first hope, we must now thinke that thinges to come shall be much better then our present estate. They all agreed with one voyce, that he should lead them where hee list. Whereupon, thinking good not to pretermitt the occasion whiles the hope was whote in their hearts, conueyed them into Egypt, and entered the hauen at Pelusium, vnder pretence that hee had bene sent thither by Darius. When he had gotten Pelusium, he set forwardes towarde Memphis, at the same of whose comming, the Egyptians being a light nation, and more apte to make a stirre then to maintaine it, when it

is once begunne, ranne to him out of al townes and villages, with entent to destroy all the Persians. But they notwithstanding the feare they were in, did not leaue the defence of the countrey, but fought with the Grekes, and were put to flight. After that victorie Amyntas besieged Memphis, and his men destroyed so all the countrey thereabouts, that they left nothing vnspoyled. Whereupon Dazeches, though he perceiued his souldiours much amazed with the feare of their late ouerthrow, yet when he saw his enemies scattered abroad and without order, for the pride they had conceiued of their victory: at length perswaded his men to issue out of the citie, and in setting vpon their enemies, recouer againe that they had lost. Which aduise beyng good of it self, by good handling toke most fortunate successe. For they slew at that tyme both Amyntas and all his company. This punishment he suffered for the offence committed to both princes, being neither fearefull to Alexander whome hee forsooke, nor to Darius to whom he fled. Darius captaines which escaped from the battaile at Isson, gatherynge together such men as were scattered abroad, and such power beside as they could leaue in Cappadocia and Baphlagonia, did attempt to recouer agayne the countrey of Lidia. Antigonus was gouernour for Alexander there, who notwithstanding that he had taken many souldiours out of the garisons to send vnto Alexander: yet he

he so little esteemed his enemies, that he doubted not to aduenture the battaile. The Persians receiued there the lyke fortune they did in other places: which attempting the fight in three sundry countreyes, were vanquished in them all. At the same tyme the name of the Macedones which Alexander had sent for out of Grece, meeting Aristomenes (whom Darius had appointed to make warre vpon the coast of Hellespont) tooke and drowned all his shippes. Farnabazus Darius Admirall, hauyng exacted money at Milesum, and set a garison in Scio, passed into the Isle of Andros with an hundred shippes. And from thence he went to Syphnus, and putting men of warre into all the Ilandes, exacted of them money. The greatnesse of the warre that was in hande betwene two of the most puissaunt Princes of Asia and Europe, did drawe both Grece and Crete to armes. Agis the king of Lacedemon, gathered together viij. thousand Grekes that were come home out of Cilicia, and moued warre to Antipater that was the gouernour of Macedone. The Cretians followyng sometyme one part, and sometyme an other, receyued one while garison of the Macedones, and another while of the Lacedemonians to lye amongst them. But those warres were of no great importance. For all mens eyes were fixed vpon the warres that were in bre betwene Alexander and Darius, whereuppon all the rest did depend.

The

The Macedones had subdued all Syria & Phenice, Tyre onely except, which beyng the greatest and most notable citie of all that countrey, shewed that they esteemed themselves worthy rather to ioyne with Alexander as friends, then to become his subiectes. For when he was come nere vnto them, and encamped vpon the maine land, which is deuided from their citie with a small arme of the Sea: They sent to hym by their Embassadors a crowne of gold for a present, with great plenty besides of victuals for his army. He receiued their giftes as from his friends, and gaue gentle answeres vnto the embassadors: but he shewed himselfe much desirous to make sacrifice vnto Hercules (whome the Syrians especially worshipped, and the Macedon kinges supposed themselves to bee descended of him) beyng admonished thereunto (as he sayd) by an Oracle. The Embassadors made answer: that there was a temple of Hercules without their citie in the place which they call Phaletiron, where as he might doe sacrifice at his pleasure. At those wordes Alexander coude not refraine his ire, whereunto he was much subiect, but fell in a rage: I perceiue now (quoth he) because ye dwell in an Island, ye trust so much in the situation of your city, that ye despise my land power. But I will shortly do you to vnderstand, that ye dwell vpon the maine land, and bring you in such case, as your Island shall not helpe you: and therefore trust to it, that if ye receiue me not in, I will enter by force. When the Embassadors were dismissed with this

this answer, such as were nere about y^e king, perswaded them that they should not exclude him, whom all Syria and Phenices had receyued. But they had conceiued such a confidence for that their Citie stode in the Sea, deuided lxxx. furlonges from the maine land, that they utterly determined to abide the siege. That Sea of theirs is much subiect to the Southwell wynd, which made at euery storme the waues beate so high against the shore, that it would not suffer the Macedons to make any worke for the ioyning of the mayne land to the Citie: it beyng scarcely possible to work any thing there, when the weather was most calme. The first worke that the Macedones began, was by and by throlwen downe with the behemencie of the Seas that were driuen by the winde. For they could make no Mole so strong within the Sea, but that it was washed away & brought downe by the beating of the waues. And when y^e wind blew streinably, it would bring the seas cleane ouer the worke. There was another difficultie no lesse then this. For by reason that the walles were inuironed about with the deepnesse of the sea, they could raise no engine to shote but a far off out of ships, nor there was not any ground about the Citie, whereuppon ladders myght haue bene raysted agaynst the walles, or approche made vnto them by lande. Alexander had no ships, and though he had had some, and would haue coueted to bring them to y^e walles,

yet by reason of the vnstablenesse of the water, they might with shot easely haue bene kept of. But amongst the rest of other things, the Tirians were wonderfully encouraged by the coming of the Embassadors sent from Carthage, to celebrate a yeerely sacrifice, according to their custome. For the Tirians being the builders of Carthage, were since that tyme had in veneration of them as their parentes and first founders. Whose Embassadors exhorted them in any wise to abide the siege, and promised them shortly ayde, which they alleaged might easily & sone be done, forsomuch as at that tyme all the seas were ful of the Carthage flectes. Upon this harting, they determined to abide the extremitie, and placed their engines vpon the towers & the walles, deuiding their armour amongst y^e youth of the citie. The artificers, whereof the city had great plenty, were deuided into workehouses, to make all such thinges as were necessary for the warres. There were deuised certaine instruments wherewith they might pull downe the workes that their enemies made, called Harpagos, and also crolues of iron named Corui, with all other thinges that might be inuented for the defence of cities. But a strange thing is reported, that when the Iron was put in the Forge and blowen in the fire, the same was scene to be full of droppes of bloud. Which wonder the Tirians did interprete as a token of good fortune towarde themselves, and as a significatiou

tion of destruction towarde their enemies. A like thing was scene amongst the Macedones. For when a certaine souldiour was breakyng of his bread, droppes of bloud appeared therein. Whereat Alexander beyng astonied, Aristander that was most cunnyng of all the diuiners of their religion, did interprete thus the matter. If the bloud had appeared outwardly, then it had signified euill Fortune to the Macedons, but in as much as it was found within, it betokened destruction to the citie they went about to get. Alexander considering his nauy to be farre from him, and that a long siege should be great impediment to his other affaires, sent officers of armes vnto the citie to perswade them vnto peace, whom the Tirians against the law of nations did drowne in the Sea. Their vniust death stirred Alexander so much, that he then vtterly determined to goe forwarde with the siege. But before he could make his approche, it was of necessitie for him to make a Peere or a Hole, whereby they myght passe from the mayne lande to the Citie. But in the making thereof there entered great dispaire into all mens heartes, considering the deepenesse of the Sea, which they saue not possible to be filled scarcely by any diuine power. For they thought no stones so great, no trees so high, nor any countrey to haue such plenty as might suffice for the building of a banke in such a place, considering the sea remained alwaies troubled.

C. y.

And

And the narrower the place was betwene the citie and the land, so much more greater was the rage. But Alexander that had the way to allure his souldiours to what effect him pleased, declared how that Hercules appeared vnto him in his sleepe, and gaue him his hand, profering to be his capitaine and his guide for the enterance of the Citie. Whereunto he added the killyng of his Embassadours, whereby they had violatēd and broken the lawe that all nations obserued, and that there remained but onely one Citie which stayed his victory. Thereupon he deuised the worke amongst his capitaines, that euery one might apply his owne band, and so put the worke in bre, when he had once sufficiently encouraged his men. There were great plenty of stones at hand of the Mines of the olde Citie where Tyre stode before, and for the making of boates and towers, timber was brought from the mount Libanus. The worke did grow from the bottome of the sea like a mountain, but not yet brought to the high water marke. And the further the Piere was wrought from the lande vnto the sea-ward, so much the sooner the sea did swallow vp the substance of things, whereof the same was made. While the Macedones were thus about their worke, y^e Tirians would come about them in smal vessels, & giue them wordes of reproch & scoone: as they were now become goodly men of warre, that would be made Pioners and cary burdens like beastes vpon their

backes.

backes. And they asked the also if they thought Alexander to be greater then the god of the sea. But their reproche did not hinder but encrease the chærefulnes of the souldiours in their payne and trauaile. In so much the Mole in a short space surmounted aboue the water, and encreasing much in breadth, approached neere vnto the Citie. When the Tirians seeing the hugeness of the worke, in the increase whereof they sawe themselves deceiued, little thinking that it would haue growen to such passe, in little vessels came rowing about the Piere, and did driue the souldiours with shot from their working, & because it lay in them to bring their boates sodainly forwards, and returne some againe, they hurt many of the Macedones without danger to themselves, enforcing them to leaue their worke, and fall to their owne defence. For remedy whereof, and to auoide their enemies shot, they were compelled to stretch out beastes skinnēs vpon poles like sailes, and set those betwene them and their enemies. And besides, at the head of the Piere they raised vp two Towers, from whence with shotte and casting of dartes, they kept of the boates that came about them. On the other side, the Tirians would land in their boates far out of the sight of the campe, and kill such as were carying of stones. The peasaunts besides of Araby, did set vpon certaine Macedons that were scattered abroad in the Mount Libanus, where they slew and toke diuers.

C. ij.

That

That was one cause which moued Alexander to deuide his armie. And least he might seeme to remayne idely about the siege of one Citie, he appointed Berdicas and Craterus to take the charge of the worke he had in hande, and went into Arabia with such part of his power most apte for his purpose. In the meane season the Tirians prepared a great ship laden with stones and grauell behynd, so that the foreparte floated aboue the water, which shippes annointed ouer with pitche & brimstone, they brought sodainly by sayling and force of Dares vnto the Peere, and there remayning, the Mariners set the Shippe on fire, and then leaped into the boates which followed after for the purpose. The shippe thus set on fire so inflamed the wood worke pertainyng to the Peere, that befoze any rescue could come, the fire had taken the Towers of the Peere, and all the rest of the workes that were made in the head. When they that were leaped into the boates, sawe the matter take such effect, they put betwixt the Timber and other boyde places, both firebrandes and all such thinges as might giue nourishment and encrease to the fire: so that the towers and all the rest beyng on a flame, many of the Macedones were consumed therewith, and the rest forsooke their armour and threw themselves into the Sea. When the Tirians that were more desirous to take them aliue to kill them with stauces and stones, did so beate them on the hands

handes as they were swimming, that for wearinesse they were glad to be taken by into their boates. The whole worke was not consumed with fire onely. For it chaunced also the same day a terrible winde to rise, which blowing out of the Sea, brought the waues with such violence vpon the Mole, that with often beating of the Seas, the ioyntes that knitte the worke together, began to lose and leaue their hold. When the water that washed through, brake downe the Mole in the middelt, so that the heapes of stones which were befoze sustained by the timber and earth cast betwixt them once broken a sunder, the whole worke fell to ruine and was caried away into the deepe Sea. By that time Alexander was returned out of Arabie, and scarcely found any remayne or token, that any such worke had bene. In that case (as it is euer vsed in thinges that chaunce euill) one laid the fault vppon an other, when in deede the violence of the Sea was the cause of all. Alexander beganne to make the Peere agayne after a new sort, the head thereof lying into the weather and the winde, and not the open side as it did befoze: So that the forefront alwayes defended the rest of the worke lying behynde. Hee encreased also the breadth thereof, to the intent the Towers might bee builded in the middelt of the Peere, whereby they should be least subiect to the enemies shotte. Whole trees were put into the Sea with their toppes and bzaunches,

and after great stones thzowen vppon them, And ouer those a new course of trees and stone againe, by which deuise this whole worke was ioyned and knit all in one. As the Macedones were busie to bring their worke forwarde, so the Tirians were as diligent to inuent all such things, as might giue impedimnt to their proceeding. Their chiefe practise was for a number of them to enter into the sea a farre of out of the Macedons sight, and so come dyuing vnder the water till they came vnto the peere, where with hookes they would pull vnto them the branches of the trees that appeared out of the stones, whereby the stones and the other substance followed after into the deepe. For the trees beyng discharged of their burden, were easily drawen away, and then the foundation failing, y whole worke that stayed vpon the trees, fell to ruine. Amongst these impediments Alexander stood in great perplexitie of mynd, doubting whether he should continue the siege still, or els depart his way. When he was in this imaginatiō, sodainly his nauy arriued from Cypres, and Cleander also with such souldiours as he had brought out of Greece. And hauing to the number of 180. shippes, deuided them into two battels, whereof he committed the one vnto Pythagoras the King of Cypres, and to Craterus, and toke charge of the other hymselfe, committynge his owne person in a Galley called Cinquere, the which had fve Dares on a banke.

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The Tirians durst not aduenture the sea fight, although they had a great nauie, but set al their Gallies in a front befoze the wals of their citie, which the king assailed and put to distresse. The next day the Macedons with their shippes enuironed the Citie round about, and did beat down the walles, specially with such engines as they call Arietes. But the Tirians straight-way reinforced and made vp their walles againe with stones that lay at hande, and raised vp an inward wall round about within the Citie, which might be their defence if the other failed. But their destruction approached on euerie side, the Gole was wrought within the cast of a darte, and the shippes gaue the approach round about the walles, so that they were overlaid both by sea and by lande. The Macedons had deuised to ioine their Galleys two and two together, in such sort that the foreparts mette close befoze, and the hinder parts laye farre off one from the other. And ouer the spaces remaining betwixte puppe and puppe, thei made bridges with masts and maine yardes laid betwixt Galley and Galley, fast bound together to carie souldiers vpon. When they had put their Galleys in this order, they sette forwarde toward the Citie. And hauing rampired the prores for defence of the souldiers that were behind, they stood in their Galleys, and did shoote and cast dartes against their enemies, without any perill or daunger to themselves. It was midnight when they had com-

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maundement to set forthwardes after the maner. As the shippes were appoaching on all partes, and the Tyrians stood astonied for feare and desperation: sodainly the skie was ouerwhelmed with dimme cloudes, and sodaine darknes tooke away the lighte. When the Sea by little and little waxed terrible and rough, the wynde blew rayling vp the waues, and did beat the shippes one against an other: the violence whereof burst asunder the bandes and graspers wherewith the Galleyes were fastened togither. Which done, the brydges crashed and flew asunder, and with the souldiers that stood vpon them fell into the Sea. There was great confusion, for the shippes entangled thus togither, could by no meanes be gouerned in such a tempest, the souldiers disturbing the seate of the mariners, and the Mariners giuing impediment to the office of the souldiers. Thus (as it doth often happen in such case) the expert were obedient to the ignorant, for the shippe maisters that were wont to commaund, then for feare of death were directed by other: But at length by force of rowing the Galleyes recovered the shore, the more parte of them being broken and torne. It chaunced at the same time thirtie Embassadors to come from Carthage to Tyre, who gaue more comfort then assistance to them that were besieged. For they shewed howe the Carthagens were so assailed with warre at their owne doores, that they could

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by no meanes sende them succour. In so much as the Siracusians were burning in Affrike, & had encamped themselues vnder the very wals of Carthage. The Tyrians yet were not discomfited, for all that they were disappointed of their speciall truste, but deliuered vnto those Embassadors their wiues and their children to carrie vnto Carthage, thinking to endure more stoutly the siege, if the things which were most deare vnto them were remooued out of daunger. There was a Tyrian which in an open assembly declared that Apollo (whome the Tyrians greatlie doe worship) had appered to him in his sleepe, seeming to him that hee had forsaken the Cittie, and transformed the Hole that the Macedons had made, into a great wood. Here vpon (though the authour were of small credite) yet forasmuch as men in feare bee apt to beleue the worst, they tyed faste Apollos Image with a golden chaine, and bounde faste also the Altar of Hercules (to whome the Cittie was dedicate) thinking by deteining of the one, to keepe still the other. The Carthagens in times past had brought that image from Siracuse, and had placed it in the head Cittie, out of the which they were descended. For their custome was to adorne Tyre with such spoyles as they had taken, no lesse then they did Carthage it self. They at that time would also haue bene authours vnto the Tyrians for the renewing of an olde sacrifice that had bene omitted

manie

many yeres, wherein they vsed to offer vp to Saturne a free borne childe. Which being a sacrilege rather then a sacrifice, the Carthagens receiued of their first founders, and still obserued thesame, till their citie was destroyed. And but that the auncient men by whom all things were gouerned, did withstand it, this wicked superstition had taken place, which nature and humanitie doth abhorre. The necessitie that was hanging ouer their heades, being more effectuall then any arte or science, practised not onely such thinges as were accustomed for defences, but also founde out that was neuer inuented before. For to y disturbance of the ships that approached the walles, they deuised long rafters, to the which they fastened graspels of Iron, and great hookes like Sithes, which lette downe with ropes by an engine, eyther tare the shippes, or destroyed the men. They inuented also Targets of mettall to be made fire hot, in the which they put burning sande, and scalding lime, and then poured the same down vpon the Macedons that came nere the walles, being a mischiese that they feared most aboue al other. For when the hot sande entred betwene y harness and the bodie, there was no meanes to auoide it: and where it touched it burned to the bones, so that they were enforced to throwe away their harness, and teare away all things they had vpon their bodies. Whereby they became subiect to be hurt by their enemies, and were

were not in case to endamage them again. But specially the graspers letten down (called Corni) tooke violently away many of the souldiers that were in the ships. Alexander seeing the obstinate defence of the Tyrians, was wearie of the matter, and determined to raise his siege, & go vnto Egypt. For considering in how short a space he had subdued Asia, it greeued him to bee detained so long about the walles of one Citie, whereby he omitted the occasion & oportunitie of greater thinges in the meane season. But hee was as much ashamed to departe without his purpose, as to remaine there, and leaue other things vndone: indging that if he should leaue Tyre after that sort, as a witnes that he might be withstoode, it should much impaire his fame, wherewith he had gotten more then with force. And it chaunced at the same time a monster of an exceeding bignes to appeere as well in y sight of the Tyrians as the Macedons, which lying vpon his backe aboue the water, came towards the Mole, and when he had lifted vp himselfe at the head of the Mole, diued vnder the water againe, sometime appeering aboue, and sometime hiding himselfe vnderneath, and when he came nere the walles of the Citie, vanished out of sight. The sighte of this monster reioiced both parties, the Macedons interpreting the same to be sent them as a guide for their direction to furnish out the worke, and the Tyrians diuining that Neptune in reuenging the usurpation that the

the Macedons had made vppon the Sea would shortly destroy the woozke that they had made, in such like sort as he had taken away the monster. They vpon their owne imagination conceived such a gladnes, and prognosticated to themselves such good fortune, that they fell to banqueting and drinking. And when they were well charged with wine, at the sun rising they set garlandes of flowers vpon their heades, and mounted into Galleyes, not onely with hope of victorie, but with a triumph made before hande. It chaunced at the same time that Alexander had conueied his nauie to the contrary side of the Citie, and left vpon the shore thirtie of the smallest vessels, of the which the Tyrians caught ij. and put the rest in daunger of distressing, vntill such time as the king hearing the alarme, sette forwardes with his nauie towarde that parte where the crie was heard. The first Galley of the Macedons that came neere them was a quinquereme, the swiftest of all the rest, which when the Tyrians espied, they came against her with two Galleys crosse vpon her side: whereof the one strake full with her Spurne, with whome the quinquereme grasped, & the other which was loose at libertie fell vpon her contrary side. But least betwene them two she should sustain some damage, one of Alexanders Tryemes came to the rescue with such violence, that the maister of the loose Galley was stricken into the Sea. When the Tyrians sawe that Alexander

ander was come himselfe, and more of his ships at hande, then with strength of Dares, & great difficultie, they sette their Galley that was entangled loose againe and at libertie, making towarde their haven with all the haste they might. Alexander immediately pursued them but when hee came to the haven hee could not enter, but was beaten of with shotte from the walles, yet he did take and drowne the more parte of their Galleyes. After this aduventure he rested his souldiours two dayes, and then willed his shippes to bee brought forwardes, and the engines in them, to the intente that by assailing the Tyrians on all sides, hee might put them in extreme feare. Alexander with a wonderfull courage, not without great perill of his person, mounted vp into the toppe of a tower that was made in a shippe, and there knowne by his apparell and rich armour, was chieflie laid at, and shot to from all partes. He wrought wonderfull feates with his owne personne, for both with his pyke hee slewe diuers that stood at defence, and afterwards fought hand to hand with his sword and his Target, throwing diuers downe from their defence, for the Tower wherein he foughte ioyned harde to the walles. By that tyme the engynes called Arietes wyth much beating had stricken downe the walles, the Pauc was got within the haven, and certeine of the Macedons had wonne the towers. The Tyrians then oppressed

oppressed with so manie miseries at once were cleane discomfited: Some fled for succour vnto the temples, some did shut their doores, taking that kinde of death they liked beste. And other ran vpon their enemies to sell their liues deere. But the more part got vp into the tops of their houses, and from thence did cast downe vpon their enemies whatsoeuer came to their hands. Alexander commaunded all to bee slaine without exception, sauing such as fled into the temples, and willed the houses to bee sette on fire. Though that were proclaimed throughout the Citie, yet there was none bearing armour that would saue themselves that way. For as the women and children filled the temples, so the men kept the entries of their houses, ready to abide the crueltie of their enemies. Yet the Sidonians were the occasion that manie were saued who seruing in the warres amongst the Macedons, and entering the Citie with the reste, were mindfull of their affinitie with the Tyrians (Agenor being builder of both their Cities) and conueyed manie into their shippes, which they sent priuily vnto Sidon. By that meanes fiftene thousand escaped the crueltie of y^e sword. The number of them that were slaine may partly be coniectured, in that there were found dead within the Citie sixe thousand of such as bare armour. The kinges wrath towards the Citie made the sight dolorous vnto the victors. For two thousand whome the furie of the slaughter

had

had left alieue, were afterwarde hanged vpon crosses along the Sea coast. The Embassadors of the Carthagens were saued, but they threatened to make warre against them, from y^e which he was then letted by other businesse he had in hande. Thus Tyre was taken the vii. moneth after it was besieged, a Citie notable to the posteritie, as wel through the antiquitie it was of, as also by the often chaunge of fortune that it had suffered. It was builded by Agenor, and manie yeres was maister of the Seas, not onely nere thereabout, but in all places where as their nauies came. And if we list to credite y^e same, that Citie was the first which either taught or learned letters. They builded Cities, and put in them inhabitors throughout y^e more partes of the world, both Carthage in Affrike, Thebes in Boeria, and Gades in Spaine vpon the Deccean. It is to bee thought that by reason of their free course through all Seas, and by visiting manie straunge countreyes, they had occasion to chosse out seates, to place their youth in, whereof they then abounded. Or els as some write, the inhabitours wearied to dwell there by reason of many Earthquakes, were compelled of force to seek out straunge dwelling places. But after many casualties that happened vnto Tyre, after the destruction newly renewed, and all things growne againe through long peace, remaineth now vnder the defence of the Romaines clemencie. About the same time A-

H. j.

Alexander

Alexander receiued letters from Darius, where in at last hee was contented to name him king. His request was, that Alexander would receiue his daughter Statyra for his wife, with whome he offered in dower all the countrey betwene Hellespont and the riuier of Mys, and would reserve to himselfe onely such kingdomes as lay from thence Eastward. And if peradventure hee should like to receiue this offer, hee willed him to consider that fortune is not wont to continue long in one estate, and that the greater felicitie men haue, the greater enuy both followe them. It was to be doubted, (he saide) least he exalted himselfe through some bayne and childish affection, like as birds vse to doe, whose naturall lightnes conueyeth them to the starres. For there was nothing more difficult in so young yeeres, then to beare well such height and greatnes of fortune. He willed him also to consider, that there remained yet manie countries that he had not touched, & that he should not alwaies meete him in streights, hauing to passe the Riuer of Euphrates, Tigris, Araxes, and Hydaspes, which were as bulwarkes vnto his dominion, and when he should come vnto the playnes hee should be ashamed of his small number. Hee put hym in remembrance to weigh howe long it should be ere he could passe Media, Bactria, and the Indians that bordered on the Ocean sea. And likewise the Sogdians, and Trachians of whom men haue none other knowledg then of their name, with other nations lying towards the mount Caucasus, & the riuier of Tanais. Though no man should lette him nor offer him battayle, yet hee should growe in age (he sayde) before hee could passe so many landes. In the latter ende, hee aduised him to call him no more forwarde, for he would come soone enough, and that to his destruction.

Alexander made aunswere to those letters by the messengers that brought them, in effect: that Darius offered to him that was none of his own, & made a proffer to giue that he had already lost. For Lydia, Ionia, Aeolides, and the coast of Hellespont, which he appointed in dower, were already become the

rewards of his victorie. And as for lawes and conditions, those were wont to be giuen and appointed by the victours, & receiued of such as were overcome. And if he were ignorant in which of those two estates he were in, that he should come of, and aduenture the battaille once again. For he was not ignorant (he said) before he passed the sea, howe Lydia and Cilicia were ouer small rewards for the making of such a warre. But his determination was euer to subdue and bring vnder his subiection, both Persepolis the chiefe Citie of his kingdome, and also Bactria and Echatania, with the vttermost boundes of the Orient. Hee could lie no where but he was able to followe: and therefore counsailed him that he should leaue to feare him with Ryuers, which had learned howe to passe Seas.

Thus the kinges did write one to an other: and in the meane season the Rhodians yielded their Citie and their haven vnto Alexander, who committed the rule of Cilicia vnto Socrates, and the Countrey about Myze vnto Philotas: Andromachus was made Parmenio his deputie in Caele Syria, from whence Alexander minding to sette forwards to the rest of his iourney, commaunded Ephesion that with his nauie hee should saile along the coast of Phoenicia, and so he came with his whole power to the Citie of Gaza. About the same time there was solempne triumphes and plaies at Isthmos, accustomed to be celebrated with the assemblie of all Greece. In the counsell (as the writtes of the Greekes be sodaine) they decreed to send xij. Embassadors vnto Alexander for the carrying vnto him a crowne of golde in gratifying the victory he had wonne, and the actes hee had done for the

sauegard and liberties of Græce, and yet a litle before they harkened how the same went, and were ready to bend that way that fortune inclined. Alexander visited not in person all such countreys and Cities as refused to do their obedience unto him, but made conquest of them by his deputies. For Cales took Paphlagonia, Antigonus Liconia, and Balachrus overcame Darne Darius lieutenant, and won Miletum. Amphitonus & Egilochus with a nauie of a C. & lxx. ships subdued all the Ilands betwene Asia & Achaia. And also by the consent of the inhabitants gotte Tenedon, which alwaies was acceptable to the Persians. They were at the point to haue gotten Scio, but that Pharnabazus Darius deputy hauing intelligence of the matter, did firste apprehende all such as were of this Macedons faction, & committed the Citie with a small garrison to Appollonides and Athenagoras, who were inclined to the Persians. Alexanders capitaines for all this continued the siege of the Citie still, not so much in trust of their owne strength, as in hope of the faction they had within the Citie. In which point they were not deceiued. For through a sedition which did arise betwene Appollanides and the capitaines of the menne of warre, occasion was ministred to the Macedons to enter the Towne. When the gate was broken vp, and a band of Macedons entred, the Citizens which before had deuised to rebell against the Persians, took parte wyth
Amphi-

Amphiterus and Egilochus, so that the garrison of the Persians were slaine, and Pharnabazus with Appollonides and Athenagoras taken prisoners. There were xxj. galleyes taken with their souldiers & rowers, besides xxx. ships, and vessels of Pyrates, with three thousande Greeks that were in wages with the Persians, with whom the Greeks furnished vp their owne bands, and put the Pyrats to death, bestowing the rowers in their owne galleyes. It chaunced that Aristonicus the vsurper of Methina, ignorant of any such matter as was chaunced in the forepart of the night, came with certaine Pirates shippes to enter into the hauen, whom when the watch demaunded what he was, he saide, he was Aristonicus, and came to the succour of Pharnabazus. They answered he was at rest, & could not then be spoken withall, but it should be latefull for him (they said) being their friend to enter into the hauen for that night, and speke with him when it was day. Aristonicus was first that entred, and the Pirates followed him. But whiles they placed their ships, the watchmen drew the chaine againe ouer the hauen, and then called vp suche as laye there nere about, so that none of them durst resist, but were all taken prisoners, and so deliuered to Amphiterus and Egilocus. From thence the Macedons passed to Mytelene, which was kepte by Chares of Athens, with a garrison of two thousand Persians: but when he was not able
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to endure the siege, he yielded up the Citie, with composition to haue their lines saued, and to depart in sauegarde vnto Ambros. Darius despairing of peace, which hee had procured both by his letters and Embassadours, gaue his minde to assemble a newe power, and freshlye to renewe the warre. Wherefore he commaunded the Capitaines and rulers of his men to assemble at Babylon, and that Bessus gouernour of the Bactrians, shoulde come thither with all the power he could make. The Bactrians be the moste hardiest people among those nations, brauill men, and much abhorring from the delicatenes of the Persians. For by reason that they border vpon y^e Scythians, which be a warlike nation, they are accustomed to liue by theft and bee conuersant continually in armes. But Bessus that was suspected of treason, that hee would not be content with the second place, put Darius in great doubt: Who hauing an inkling that hee aspyed to bee king, feared one-lye his treason, hauing no other waye to bring his purpose to passe. Alexander wrought all the wayes hee could to obteyne knowledge where Darius was become, and into what countrey he was gone. And yet could not get any intelligence, by reason of a custome among the Persians, which are wont with a marueylous fidelitie to keepe close their princes secrets: in the uttering whereof, neyther feare of death, nor hope of reward, can cause them, bring forth

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a worde. This was a goodly discipline that the kinges there had of old time vsed amongst their subiects, in punishing with losse of life the lauiti-nes of their tong, which is there more greuously chastised then any other crime. For there is not in those partes any goodnesse looked for at a-ny mans handes, that hath not the gifte of secretnes, wherof nature hath giuen a facilitie in man. This was the cause that Alexander was ignoraunt of all thinges that his enemies did, & therfore continued his siege before Gaza. Betis was capitaine there, who was a man of notable fidelitie towards his Prince, which with a smal garrison defended the Citie that was of a large compasse. Wherefore Alexander perceiuing the aduauntage of the Situation, sette manye Mines in hande. For the lightnes of the ground made the worke easie, hauing neither rockes nor stones to giue any impediment. They began their Mines on that side, where they with- in could not destroy them. And to auoid the sus- pectiō of any such worke in hande, caused an approach to bee made to the walles, with tow- ers that hee had made of timber. But the ground would not serue for their carrying and removing, by reason of the loosenes of the sand, whereinto the wheeles sanke, and was the cause that the iointes of the towers brake asunder. A- bout the conueiance of them manie were hurt, and as much trouble they had in withdrawing of them, as in setting them forwardes.

D. iij.

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When he perceiued hee coulde not preuaile by that meanes, hee retired his menne againe for that time. But the nexte day he enuironed the Citie rounde about to giue the assaulte in euerie parte at once, and before he returned out of his Campe, he made sacrifice after his country manner, requiring the aide of the Gods. It chaunced as hee was so doing, that a Rauen flying by, lette fall a clodde (which she carried in her claws) vpon the kings head, where it brake and resolved in pieces. And the Rauen flew vnto the next towre, where her feathers were so entangled with pitch at her lighting, that she could not flie awaye, but was taken of the standers thereabouts. This was thought a matter worthe wher-vpon the diuiners should consulte. For hee himselfe was not free from the superstition of such thinges. Therefore Aristander to whom he gaue most credit, did interpret the same to bee a signe of the destruction of that Citie, but yet there was some perill (hee saide) appering towarde the kinges person: For which cause hee perswaded Alexander that hee should not goe about any enterprise that daye. Though it greeued him much y one citie should be a staye and impediment vnto him for his free passage into Egypt, yet he obeyed the pronosticators, & caused all his men to retire. The enimies toke courage of their departure, thinking feare to haue ben y cause why they came not forward failed out of the Citie, and set vpon their taylor.

But

But they were more fierce in the beginning of the skirmish, then constant in the maintayning of the same. For when they saw the Macedons turne about, they staied and pursued no further. Alexander hearing the alarum, and remembzing nothing the peril that was prophesied vnto him, at his friends request put on his harnais (which he was seldome accustomed to do) and resorted thither where the skirmish was most whote. There he was known by a certaine Arabian that was one of Darius souldiours, which tooke vpon him a desperate enterprise to kill Alexander, and therefore making his pretence to be as a fugitiue from the Persians, kept his sword secret vnder his target, and fel down on his knees before him. Who iudging that he had fledde to him for succour, willed him to bee receiued amongst his owne men. But the Arabian therewithall strake at y king with his sword, which he by a little stepping aside, auoyded from his throate, and cut of the Arabians hand that missed of his stroke. Alexander then iudged that hee had cleane escaped the peril that should haue chaunced to him that day, but (as I thinke) destiny cannot be auoided: for whiles he was eager to fight amongst the foremost, he was stricken with an arrowe, which passed thorow his Corselet, and did sticke in his shoulder. Phillip his phisition did plucke it out, and great abundance of bloud did follow, whercof euery man was afraid, for so much as they neuer sawe an arrow

arrow passe so farre thoroꝝe any armour before. But he neuer chaunged countenance nor colour, but causing þe bloud to bee stanchēd, and his wound to be wraꝑt vp, continued still in the skirmish amongst the foremost, either suffering or dissembling his payne and dolour. But when the bloud that was stayēd for the tyme brast out agayne, and the wound which for the newnesse grieved him not much, began to swell and rankle as the bloud waxed colde, then he began to faynt and fall downe, and was taken vp by such as were next him, and caried into his tent. Betis that perceyued this, supposing him to be slayne, retired vnto the Citie againe with great ioy and triumph. But Alexanders wound beyng yet vnhēaled, he caused a mounte to be cast vp as high as the toppe of the walles, and the walles to be cast downe in diuers places by the Myners. But they within made a countermure as high as the olde walle: yet that coulde not stretch to the height of the towers made vpon the mount, so that the inner partes of the city were subiect to shotte. But a mine whereat the wall was ouerthrowen, and a breach made wherewith the Macedons did enter, was the vtter losse of the towne, wheras Alexander pressing on amongst the foremost aduēturously, had his leg hurt with a stone. That notwithstanding, he mounted vp by helpe of his weapon (his former wound yet closed) & fought amongst the foremost, being in a great fury, that

in the siege of that one citie, he had receiued fwa woundes. Betis that had fought notably, and receiued diuers hurts, was forsaken of his own men, and yet notwithstanding, maintained still the fight, and had all his armour embued with his owne bleud and his enemies. But when he was enclosed round about, then Alexander which was wont to wonder at the vertue of his enemies, puffed vp with a ioyfull pride, sayde vnto him: Betis, thou sha't not dye as thou wouldest thy selfe, but whatsoeuer torments may bee inuented, thinke that thou shalt suffer them. For all his wordes there appeared in Betis no token of feare, but beheld the kyng with an arrogant countenaunce, and would not answer him one worde. Then Alexander sayde: see you not how obstinate he is to holde his peace: hee would not kneele, nor once desire mercy. But gronyng shall breake his silence, if nothyng els can doe it. Thus his fortune altering his nature, changed him into strāge maners, & turned his wrath into woodnes. For he causing cordes to be put through Betis fete whiles he was aliue, did drawe him about the city with horses, glorying in that he did counterfeit Achilles (of whō he was descended) in afflicting of his enemy. There were slain of the Persiās & Arabiās x. M. & the victory was not vnbloudy to the Macedones. This siege was not so famous thoroꝝ the nobilitie of the Citie, as it was by the double daunger the kyng was in: Which making

king hadde to passe into Egypt, sent Amyntas with tenne Gallies into Macedon to leue more souldiers. For though he were alwayes victor in prosperous battailes, yet his men were diminished, and he trusted not so much to the souldiers of those countries he had subdued, as he did to his owne nation. Egyptians be a people that alwayes were offended with the increase of good fortune of the Persians, who in their gouernement ouer them, vsed much pride and couetousnes. And therfore seeking all occasions to reuolt, had receiued Amyntas, which came to them rather by way of treatie then by any force: & now specially at Alexanders commyng plucked by their spirites, and assembled a great number to meete him at Pelusium, where they iudged hee would enter. The seuenth day he remoued fro Gaza, he came to that place in Egypt, which now is called Alexanders campe, from whence he sent his army vnto Pelusium by the lande way, and he himselfe with a choise band of men was conueied thither vpon the riuer of Nile. The Persians durst not abide his comming, being in doubt that the Egyptians would reuolt. And therefore when Alexander drew nere vnto Memphis, where Astaces Darius lieutenant was with a power of men of warre, he came ouer the Riuer to meete Alexander, and yelded himselfe, deliuered him vij. C. talents, with all the riches belonging to the king of Persia. Fro Memphis he passed vpon the same Riuer vnto the

the inward partes of Egypt, and set a stay and order in the gouernemēt of the countrey in such sort, that he changed nothing of their lawes and customes. Which thing once brought to passe, he had a great desire to visite the Oracle of Jupiter Hammon. But it was declared vnto him that y way he had to goe was not passable with any great number, and that those ought to bee trimmed, meete to iourney without baggage or much cariage. The countrey he had to trauaile thorow, was said to be spred ouer all with barreine sand, which once put in an heate with the sunne, would burne their fete in such sort, that it should be intollerable for the to iourney. And had to contend not onely with the heate & want of water, but also with the rouling sand, which was so deepe, and would so sinke vnder their fete, that it should be great impediment vnto their trauaile. All which difficulties the Egyptians set forth to be greater then they were in deede. But Alexander, for the desire he had to exceed mans estate, was so feruently bent to visite that famous Oracle of Jupiter, whom either he beleued, or coneted that other should beleue to be his father, that nothing could stay him in performing that enterpryse. Therefore with such as he had appointed to accompany him in the iourney, passed by water vpon Nile, til he came to the Deare of Peotes. The embassadours of the Cirenias came to him thither, and brought him presents, whom he gently entertained, assuring

furing them of his friendship. And that done,
 went forwardes in his voyage. The first and
 the second dayes trauaile seemed tollerable, not
 beyng yet come to the barraine and wilde wil-
 derneffe, and yet the ground they passed on was
 but unfruitfull and dead earth. But when the
 plaines appeared that were couered ouer with
 deepe sande, they then looked and sought a farre
 off with their eyes for the land, euen as men be
 accustomed to doe when they saile in the maine
 Sea. For they could not iudge themselves on
 land, where they neuer saw tree nor any appea-
 rance of habitation or haunt of men. And wa-
 ter there was none to be found in that dry and
 burnyng sand. and such as they had brought
 with them in bottels vpon camels backes, was
 consumed and spent. Besides, the sunne was so
 hote that it dried and burned vp all thinges.
 When they were afflicted after this manner,
 whither it were by the will of God, or by chace,
 the cloudes sodainly ouerwhelmed the sky, and
 so shadowed them, that it was great comfort
 to such as were forwearied with the heate,
 though they wanted water to drinke. But to
 supply their lacke therein, there fell by and by a
 great shower, which euery man (for the great
 desire they had to drinke) gaped to receiue with
 open mouth. When they had trauailed foure
 dayes in passing of these wild deserts, and were
 come nere vnto the place of the oracle, there ap-
 peared a great swarme of crows flying lowe
 before

before the troupe, and when the hoste marched
 softly, they satte downe vpon the ground, and
 sometime flew forwardes, as they had bene
 guides to shewe vnto the army the way. At
 length they came vnto the place consecrate vnto
 to Jupiter, where it was a wonder to see in the
 the midst of so wilde a desert, such a ground so
 enuironed on all partes with high trees, defen-
 ding the heat of the sunne, and such a number of
 springs runnyng euery where: which cause the
 wodes alwayes to looke greene. The Aire there
 all seasons of the yere is like vnto the Spring
 tyme, wholesome and temperate to liue in. This
 countrey doth border with the Ethiopes to-
 wards the East, & vpon the Arabies y they call
 Troglodites vpon the South: whose countrey
 stretched to the red sea. It confirmeth with other
 Ethiopes that he called Simnos. Towards the
 North lieth a natio called Pasamios, who inha-
 biting vpon a flat shore, be accustomed to liue on
 spoiles of the sea, & lie alwayes in a waite vpon
 the coast to spoile such ships as suffer wecke.
 The people which inhabite about the wood, be
 called Ammonians, & dwel in cotages scattered
 abroad. The midst of their wood closed about w
 a triple wall, is vnto the as a Castle. In the first
 ward is the pallace of their ancient kings, in the
 second their wiues, children & concubines were
 lodged, in which place the Oracle of Jupiter
 is also. And the thirde is appointed a place for the
 men of warre. There is also an other Wood
 hauing

hauing in the middelt a spring called the fountaine of the sunne, which in the morning is luke warme, in the heate of the day it is cold, and in the euening warme again: so that at midnight it is scalding hote, and as it draweth towarde day, it diminisheth his heate more and more.

The same thing that is worshipped for Jupiter hath not the similitude of other images that craftesmen do make for gods, but is very lyke vnto the fashion of a Paul, hauing in the middelt an Emeraule set about with perles. When any answer is required, the priests carrie the same in a ship of gold, that hath many plates of siluer hanging on both sides. The matrones and the virgins follow after singing a rude song after their countrey maner, whereby they beleue to obtaine of Jupiter to shew his Oracle manifest and true. When Alexander was come vnto the place, the eldest of the priests which came to meete him, saluted him by the name of Jupiters sonne: for so (he sayd) his minde was that he should be called. Whereupon Alexander forgetting the state of his mortalitie, sayde: that he both did receiue and acknowledge the name. Then he demaunded further, if the empire of y whole world were apointed to him by destinie. Where the Prophet prepared before to flattery answered: that the whole worlde should come vnder his obeisance. After that he demaunded whether all such had suffered death that murdered his father, The priest answered, that his father

father could not be harmed by the treason of any man, but he saide: that all Philips killers wer put to death. And one thing he added more: that he should be inuincible till such tyme as he should depart to the gods. Thereupon Alexander made sacrifice, and both offered vnto the idoll, and gaue great giftes vnto the priests. He licenced also his friends that they might consult of the Oracle, for such things as they would demaund. Yet they enquired no further: if it were Jupiter his will, that they should worship their king with diuers honours. To the it was answered: that if they honoured their prince being victor as a god, it should be acceptable vnto Jupiter. If he had with iudgement wayed the Oracle according to the veritie, he should haue wel perceiued the vnt ruth that was therein: but whom fortune hath brought to beleue in her, she maketh them many tymes more desirous of glory, then able to receiue it. Alexander not onely suffered, but also commanded himselfe to be called the sonne of Jupiter, and whiles he went about to encrease the fame of his actes, he did corrupt and deface them through such vaine titles. Whereby the Macedons accustomed to be gouerned by kings, but yet reseruing a greater shadow of liberty the other nations, did withstand him more arrogantly in affecting of his immortality, then was either expedient for him or the: but these things shalbe declared in tyme conuenient: For now I will procede in the rest

of his doinges. When Alexander was returned from Hammon, and come to the marish of Mareotes, situate neere vnto the Isle of Pharos, viewed the nature of the place, and was at the first determined to build a Cittie within the Island. But afterwarde considering the Isle not to bee large inough, chose out the ground where Alexandria is now (called by the name of the builder) containing all that ground betwene the Meare and the Sea, the which was in compasse as the walles went lxxx. furlonges. When hee had taken order for building of this Citie, leaving such behinde him as he had appointed for the perfourmance thereof, departed vnto Memphis. Hee had a desire (not unreasonable if it had bene in time conuenient) to haue visited both the inward partes of Egypt, and also Ethiopia. And the affection he had to viewe antiquities, and the famous places of Memnon and Tyton, had neere draue him beyonde the bounds of the sunne. But the warres he had in hande being of much more moment then anye such idle peregrination, gaue him no time to fulfill his phantasie. Therefore he appointed Aetilius a Rhodian, and Peucestes a Macedon, to gouernaunce of Egypt, assigning to them foure thousand souldiers for defence of the region, and gaue Polymen xxx. Galleyes to keepe the mouth of Nile. He made Appolonijs ruler of that part of Affrike, which ioineth vnto Egypt, and Cleomines receiuer of the tributes in both countreyes.

This

This newe Citie was soone replenished with a great multitude, for commaundement was giuen to all the Cities thereabouts, to sende inhabitants vnto Alexandria. It is said that when the king (according to the Macedons custome) used the ceremonie of sleeping barly, at the making of the walles, that the byrdes came and fedde there-vpon: which being taken of manie for an vnluckie token: it was answered by their diuiners, that there should be great resort of strangers to the Citie, and that it should giue nourishment to many landes. As the king wente downe the Riuer of Nile, Hector (Parmenio his sonne) desirous to follow him, was drowned for the vessell sunke that carryed him, being pestered with ouer many men. He strived long wth the streame: but his garmentes gaue impediment to his swimming, so that his breath was neere gone before he could recouer y^e shore, wher for want of succour he died. Whose infortunate chaunce Alexander toke grieuously, as one that did beare him speciall fauour, and therefore caused his body to be honourably buried. The death of Andromachus Lieutenant of Siria, whome the Samaritans had burned, was the encrease of Alexanders sorowe, for the reuengement whereof he made all the haste he might, and at his comming into Samaria had the authours of the acte deliuered into his handes, whome he put to death, and then placed Memnon in Andromachus roome. Hee deliuered into the

I. v.

P. c.

Methinians handes, Aristonicus, and Crisolaus, that had vsurped amongst them, whom they after many grieuous tormentes did hang ouer their walles. That done, he gaue audience to the Embassadors of the Athenians, the Rhodians, and the Sciots. The Athenians did gratifie vnto him his victory, and required that such Greekes as were taken prisoners, might be restored to liberty. The Rhodians and the Sciots demaunded assistance of some garison: he granted to them all their requestes, and restoring to the Mytelens all their pledges, encreased their territorie and dominion in respect of the fidelitie they shewed vnto him, and the money they had employed in the warres. He gaue honour also according to their deseruings vnto the kinges of Cyprus, which, reuolted from Darius vnto him, and had ayded him with ships at the siege of Tyre. Amphoterus his Admiral had commissi- on to driue the Persians out of the Isle of Crete, but specially that he should ridde the seas of the Pirates, which troubled and spoiled all the Islands, whiles these two princes conuerted their powers one against an other. When he had gi- ven order to all these things, he did dedicate to Hercules at Tyre, a great standing peece, and xxx. bowles of gold. That done, he set his whole minde and care vpon Darius, causing it to bee proclaimed that euery man should set forwards towards Cuphrates. But Darius understan- ding that his enemy was gone through Egypt into

into Affrike, stood in doubt whether he should stay about Mesopotamia, or withdraw into the inward partes of his kingdome: iudging that he should be able to worke with those farre nations in bringing of them forwards to y warres, that his licutenant should not be able to do. Yet when the same had published, and he vnderstood by assured aduertisement, that Alexander was returned out of Egypt, and fully resolved to follow him with all his power into what countrie so euer he should go, he then gaue order that the force of all the farre nations should drawe towards Babilon, knowing the stoutnes of his enemy he had to match withall. Whither resorted both Bactrians, Scythians, and Indians: for the power of other countries were come thither before. And hauing the double number of men that he had before in Cilicia, prepared armour for them with diligence, whereof many of them had want. Both the horsmen and the horses were armed with plates of Steele. Such as before had no weapons but dartes, had swordes and bucklers giuen to the more. And to encrease the power of his horsmen, he deliuered many horses to be broken amongst y footemen. He had prepared also CC. wagons set with hookes, which in those countries were esteemed things of great force, & iudged to be of a wonderful terror to the enemy: they were made w great long pikes sticking out before, & with swordes set ouerthwart on both sides. The wheelles were also ful of iron

pikes right forth, and of great hookes both upward & downeward, wherewith all thing was cut asunder that came in their way. When his people was thus furnished of armour, & had provided sufficiently for the wars, he remooued from Babilon, and keeping the Riuer of Tiger on his right hand, & Euphrates on his left hande, ouerspread with his armie all the plaines of Mesopotamia. After that he passed Tiger, and understanding that his enemy was comming at hand first sente Satropaces before with a thousand chosen horsemen, and afterwards appointed six thousand to Mazeus, to stop Alexander the passage of the Riuer. Who had also in commission to waste & burne all the countrey where he iudged that his enemies shoulde come, thinking to famish them for want of victuals, considering y they had no other prouision but such as they got by rauine & by stealth: they themselves hauing plenty brought both by land, and by the riuer of Tiger. At length he came to a village called Arbella, which was afterwards famous by reason of his ouerthrow. There he left the chiefe furniture of his victualles and carriage, and made a bridge ouer the riuer of Tigris, & in five days conueied ouer his armie, as he had done before ouer Euphrates, passing forwards from thence about foure score furlonges. He came to an other Riuer called Boumello, and there encamped. The countrey serued wonderfull well for the arraunging of his battailes in the large playnes, passable

sable for horses euerie where, and without stubbes, or shorthe brush to couer the ground withall, hauing so free a prospecte, that the eye might discern things a great way off. And if there appeared anye hilles within the plaine, Darius caused the same to be cast down, and the ground to bee made smooth. Such as by coniecture made reporte to Alexander of Darius power, could not be credited, for he could not think after so manie slaine there could be a greater power gathered together then he had before. But he that neuer doubted any peril, and much lesse the multitude of men, after the eleuenth encamping, came to the Riuer of Euphrates, ouer the which hee made bridges, passing ouer his horsemen, and afterwards his footemen. For Mazeus that was sent against him with sixe thousand horsemen to let his passage, durst not encounter with him. When he had continued there a few daies, not onely to reste his souldiers, but also to confirme their mindes, and to encourage them, he sette forwards stoutly against his enemy, fearing that they would haue retired backe into the inwarde parts of Persia, whither he shoulde haue bene enforced to followe by waste places and wilde deserts. Therefore the fourth day hee passed by Arbella, and came to the Riuer of Tiger. All the countrey beyond the Riuer was on a smoke, newly sette on fier by Mazeus, who burned all thinges where hee came euen as hee had been an enemy. Alexander at y first by reason

of the darkenes of the smoke, stayed for feare of embushments. But when they which were sent to scoure the countrey, reported that all thyng was cleare, he apointed a few horsemen to proue the passage of the riuer, who found the deepenes at the first entrie to come to the horsebest, and in the midst of the streame to the horseneckes. There is no riuer in all the East part of the world, that runneth so violently, which besides the waters of other riuers that doe run into it, driueth downe stones with the streame, so that of his swiftnes it was called Tigre, which in Persian tongue is so much to say, as an arrow. The footemen therfore deuised into two bands, holding their armour over their heads, were enclosed on both sides with the horsemen, and so passed till they came in the deepe of the Chanell, without any great difficultie. The kyng was the first amongst the footemenne that passed ouer to the further syde, who with his hande (saying his voyce could not be heard) shewed the shallowe place vnto the Souldiours. But they had much payne to keepe their footing by reason of stones, whereupon they stumbled, and of the violence of the water that tooke their fete away. Such as carried burthens on their backs had the greatest trauel, which not being able to stay themselves by reason of the trouble of their carriage were borne downe by violence of the streame. And whiles euery man went about to recouer

againe

againe his owne, there fel greater strife among themselves, then they had with the stream. And the heapes of fardels that floated euerie where vpon the water bare downe manie. The King cried to them y it was sufficient to keep their armour, and let the rest goe, promising to recompence euerie man. But they neither followed his counsaile, nor did as he commaunded them. For besides the noyse that was amongst them, feare filled their eares, as they were swimming and wading through the water. At length wher the streame was most shallow they came forth, there being nothing miscarried or wanting amongst them all, sauing a fewe fardels. If their enemies had made but a proffer against them, they might easily haue been put to distresse. But Alexanders continual good fortune turned then his enemies away from him. With which fortune hee passed the Riuer of Granike, when so manie thousands both of horsemen and footmen kept the passage against him. After that sort hee ouercame the multitudes of his enemies in the straits of Cilicia. Though his boldnes was such that it sometime wanted praise, yet his felicitie euer deliuered him out of all extreame perill. If Mazeus had done his part, and sette vpon them as they were passing the Riuer, he might easily haue put them to distresse, being vnarmed and out of order. But after the Macedons had armed themselves (being then too late, hee began to shewe himselfe with a thousand horsemen.

I. v.

When

When Alexander perceiued the small number that came against him, hee caused Ariston the Capitaine of the Deonians to giue a full charge vpon them. The horsemen that day notably behaued themselves, but in especiall Ariston, which with his his speare ranne Satropases the chief capitaine through the throte, & pursuing him in to the midst of his troupe, threw him from his horse, & cut off his head, which to his great commendation he brought and threw downe before the king. Alexander taried there two daies, and against the morning caused warning to bee geuen by proclamation for his setting forwardes. But in the first watch of the night, the Moone suffered Eclipse, which loosing her brightnes, afterwards became as red as blood, & therewith wared dim and darke. The straungenes of this matter did strike a religious feare amongst the Macedons, whereof proceeded such a doubt and dread, that they fell into a murmure & grudging that they should be brought forwardes after such a manner against the will of the Gods, into the uttermost boundes of the earth, whereas they were not able to passe the Rivers, nor could not enjoy the accustomed vse of the Elementes, finding nothing but waste groundes and wilde desertes: all which was done (they saide) for the ambition of one man, for whose vaine glorie the blood of so many thousandes shoulde bee shedde. He despiseth (quoth they) his country, hee hath forsaken Philip for his Father, and

affected

affected heauen in his foolish imagination. When Alexander perceiued the matter to come to a muttering, hee that in all thinges was without feare, commaunded the chiefe Rulers and Capitaines of his men of warre to assemble at his pauilion, and there commaunded the Astronomers of the Egyptians (whome hee iudged to haue most vnderstanding in the Planets) to declare their opinions. They vnderstanding verie well the reuolutions of the time, and their appointed courses, knewe that the Moone did euer eclipse, when that either she went vnderneath the earth, or els when her light was blemished by opposition of the sunne, which reason conceiued amongst themselves, they accustomed not to teach the people. But affirmed that the Creckes were vnder the aspect of the Sunne, and the Persians vnder the Moone: and therefore so often as the Moone fayleth of her light, it signifieth great destruction to the Nations vnder that constellation. And to confirme that opinion of theirs, they brought in olde presidents of the kinges of Persia, to whom the Eclipse of the Moone had signified, that the Goddes were against them in fighting of their battailes. There is nothing more effectuell then superstition to gouerne a multitude, which otherwise is without rule, mad, & mutable. But when they haue once conceyued a Religion, though it bee but vaine: they bee more obedient to their diuiners then to their capitaines. Which thing might be well

well perceiued, when the answers of the Egyptians were spread abroad amongst the people. For they streight waies were removed from their dulnes and despaire, and stirred up to hope and confidence. Alexander therefore that could use the time, and employ his souldiers in their good moode, in the second watch removed his campe, keeping Tigris on his right hand, and the mountaines which they call Gordies on his left hand. By the spring of the daye the scouters that he sent before to discover, returned to him with report that Darius was comming. Then the souldiers prepared themselves to the fight, and marched forwards in order of battaile. But those that discovered for the Persians, were but a thousand horsemen, which keeping the scout a farre off, seemed to the Macedons to be a great armie. The scouters commonly haue that propertie, that when they cannot find out the truth they imagine through feare, things that be false. When Alexander understood the certaintie, he sent out towarde them a small number of his owne horsemen: at whose comming they fled, and were partly slaine, and partly taken prisoners. That done, he sent horsemen as well to discover further, as also to quench the fire which the Persians had made through all the country. For as they fledde away, they put fire in the rofes of their houses, and the stacks of corn, which some took holde above, and consumed all till it came to the ground. By extinguishing of those

those fires, great plenty of corne was found, and abundance of all other things ensued amongst the Macedons. That was a matter that encouraged the souldiers greatly to pursue their enemies. For they doubting least they should burne and consume all such thinges as might serue to their vse: pursued them with all the speede they could make: wisdom growing of necessitie. For Mazæus which before did burne the country at leysure, when he saw himself pursued, fled away, & left vnto the Macedons the more parte vntouched. Alexander vnderstanding that Darius drew towards him, and was come within an hundred and fiftie furlonges, made prouision of victuals, & remained foure dayes in the same place. Darius letters were there intercepted, which he had written to the Greeks, in perswasion either to kill or betray Alexander. He doubted whether he should recite the same letters openly or no, hauing no mistrust of their beneuolence and affection towarde him. But Parmenio dissuaded the putting of any such promise into the souldiers heades, considering that the committing of such an act consisteth in one mans hande, and that couetousnes neuer iudged any thing vnlawfull. He followed Parmenio his counsaile, and so removed his campe. As they were marching, one of the Eunuches of Darius wife brought worde how she faynted, & was in great peril of death. For she in very deed was so wearied with continual trauaile of her iourney

ney and care of minde, that she fell doſtome in a ſwoone betwene her mother in lawe, and her young daughter, & ſo died. Hee had not ſo ſoone tolde the tale, but an other came with tidinges that ſhe was dead in deede: whereat Alexander was no leſſe ſorrowfull, then if his own mother had been in the ſame caſe: and weeping no leſſe then Darius ſhould haue done, repaired to the tent where Darius mother was ſitting by the dead bodie, where his ſorrowe renewed when he ſawe her lye proſtrate vpon the ground: who by the chaunce that preſently fell, being put in remembrance of her aduerſitie by paſt, embraced in his arms Darius 9 daughters, a comfort to her in their mutuall dolour, but that ſhe was enforced to comfort them. Her young nephew ſtood in her preſence, the more to bee pittied, becauſe that for his youth, he yet underſtoode not the calamitie that was growing towards him. A man would haue iudged that Alexander had wept for his owne cauſe, which lamented, and would receiue no comforte, but abſteined from meat, & reſerued all honoz to be done to the dead corps, after the countrey cuſtome of the Perſians. Worthy he was thereby to receiue the due rewarde of ſuch his meekenes and continencie. He had onely ſene her once beſore, which was the day of her taking, and then came not to viſite her, but Darius mother. The excellencie of her beautie was no prouokement to him of luſt but of glozy. Of thoſe Eunuches that were a-
bout

bout the Queene, ther was one Tiriotēs, which during this mourning and lamentation, eſcaped by a gate that was vnwarded, and fled vnto the Perſians campe, where he was by the watchmen brought to Darius preſence. When Darius ſawe him lamenting and tearing of his clothes, hee was in a wonderfull expectation what his ſorrowe ſhoulde bee, doubting what thing he might feare moſte. Thy countenance (quoth hee) declareth that ſome great miſchiefe is happened. Take heed thou concealeſt nothing from my miſerable eares. I haue learned to be vnfortunate, and it is often tymes a comfort of a mans calamitie to knowe his miſhappe. As it not the miſuſing of my wife and children that thou wouldeſt tell mee: which is the thing I ſuſpect moſte, and feare to vtter, and (as I beleue) is more grieuous vnto the then any kind of torment. Nothing leſſe (quoth Tiriotēs) the ſame honour that was giuen to them by your Subiectes, the like is vſed by him that is victourer. But your Wiſe is the cauſe of my amazement, which is euen nowe dead. When that word was once ſpoken, there was nothing elſe hearde but lamentation and howling throughout the campe. And Darius could not be otherwiſe perſwaded but that ſhe was ſlain, becauſe ſhe woulde not conſente to her miſuſement, & in y behemencie of his ſorrow cried out. O Alexander, what ſo great an offence haue I committed againſt thee: whom of thy kindred haue I ſlain
that

that thou shouldst requite me with this cruelty? Thou hast done it without any prouokement of my parte. But be it so that thou dost moue a iust war against me yet is it thy part therefore to keepe war with women? Tyriotes therefore did sweare by the Gods immortal, that there was no kind of villanie done vnto her, but that Alexander lamented her death and wepte no lesse then he himselte would haue done. Those wordes did driue him into a further suspicion and ielousie, coniecturing that Alexanders behauiour therein, had risen vpon the familiar conuersation had betwixt them. Therefore he auoiding all persons from him, sauing on ly Tyriotes, and leauing his weeping, but yet sobbing for sorowe, saide vnto him: Thou seest nowe Tyriotes, that lyes can take no place: tormentes streightwaies shall bee brought before thee. I request thee therefore, if any reuerence of thy prince remaine within thy heart, tell mee without compulsion y thing y I desire to know and am ashamed to enquire. Is it possible being of the age that he is, & hauing her in his handes, that he should not attempt her? Tyriotes offered himselte to bee racked in triall of the cause, and called the Gods to witnesse, that shee was neuer vsed but chastly and reuerently. At length when hee was once perswaded that his wordes were true, hee couered his face weeping a longe space, and after-wardes (the teares yet distilling downe his cheekes, vncouered hys face, and holding vp his handes to heauen, said:

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O you Gods that I do worship, I require you chiefly to establish this kingdome vnto my selfe: but if ye haue determined my ruine and decay, then my request is that none may raigne as king in my dominion, but eue he that is so iust an enemy, & so merciful a victor. And therefore, though he had twice before required peace at Alexanders handes, and preuayled not, but had conuerted all his minde towarde the warres: yet he was then so ouercome with the continencie of his enemy, that he sent tenne of the chiefest of his bloud as Embassadors to treat with him vpon conditions of peace. Alexander calling a councell, gaue them presence, to whome the eldest spake in this wise.

That Darius hath now the third time demanded peace of you, no power hath compelled him, but your iustice and continencie hath incoued him. He should not perceiue that eyther his mother, wife, or children were prisoners, sauing for want of their companie, you taking care of their chastities, which remaine on liue like a father. You giue to them the honour appertaining and suffer them to continue in their former estate. I see that dolorousnes in your face, that I sawe in Darius when I parted from him, and yet he doth mourne for his wife, and you for your enemy. And if the care of his buriall had not bene, you had nowe staid in battayle in readines to fight. Is it any maruell therefore if hee require peace of such a one, that is so friendly disposed towarde him? What shall they need to contend with armes, betwene whom there remaineth no hatred. In his former treatie he offered y the Riuer of A lis which boundeth vpon Lydia, shoulde bee the confines of your Empire: but nowe he proffereth you in Dower with his daughter to be deliuered out of hand all those countreies that lye betwene Hellespont and Euphrates. For the performance of which his promise, and for the obseruing of peace, Darius his sonne, now in your possession shall be the pledge for his parte. His request is to haue his mother and his two Daughters re-

H. i.

G. i.

stayed vnto him, for which thre you shall receiue thirtie thousand Talents, Except I knewe the moderation that is in you, I would not be so bolde to say that this is a time wherein you ought not onely to graunt peace, but also to seeke for it your selfe. Looke back and behelde what a great thing you leaue behinde you, and forsee howe much it is that you couet before you.ouer great an Empire is dangerous. And it is hard to holde that you be not able to receiue. Doe you not see that those shippes which be of exceeding greatnes, can not well be gouerned? Iudge that to be the cause that Darius lost so much, because that ouer much is the occasion of much losse. It is more facill to get many thinges, then to keepe a few. How much more easly do our handes catch then holde still? The verie death of Darius wife nowe doth shewe, that you haue not so great occasion to shewe mercy as you had before.

The Embassadors were remoued vnto another place, and hee debated in counsell his opinion. It was long before any durst utter what they thought, because they were vncertain how the king was inclined. At length Parmenio spake and saide:

My opinion was euer that the prisoners taken at Damasco should haue been deliuered to such as would redeeme them, wherby a great summe of money might haue been made of them, which now remaining in captiuitie, pester the hands of many a man of seruice. And nowe I thinke most necessary of all, that you exchange for xxx. Talentes of golde, this olde woman and the y. young damosels, which bee but impedimentes and disturbances to you in your iourneyes. Heere is a rich Realme to be gotten by treaty without any hazard of battaile. For there was neuer none before you (quoth he) that was Lord of all the countrey in length and breadth lying betwene Istoz and Euphrates. Hee willed him therefore rather to haue respecte towarde Macedonia, then to looke forwarde towards Bactria and the Indians.

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His wordes liked not the king, and therefore so sone as Parmenio had made an ende of his tale, he made him this aunswere.

And if I were Parmenio, I would rather desire money then glorie. But nowe seeing I am Alexander, I am not in any doubt of pouerty, and haue consideration that I am a king, and no merchaunt. I haue nothing whereof I will make sale, and much lesse sel my fortune. If I were in minde to deliuer the prisoners, it were much better to giue them freely, then to raunsome them for money.

Hereupon he called the Embassadors, and answered them in this sort.

Shewe you to Darius that giuing of thanks is but waste to a mannes enemy, and let him not thinke, that I haue had any respecte to his friendship in those things that I haue done of mine owne clemencie and liberalitie. Lett him not impute the same in any wise towarde himselfe, but to the inclination of myne owne nature: and that I contend not against mens calamities, but against the force of mine enemies. I vse not to make warre with women and prisoners, for hee must be armed, to whom I shall shew my hatred. And though it were so in deede, that he meant good faith in his peate asking, yet peradventure I would aduise me before I would consent. But seeing that at some time he hath by his letters prouoked my souldiers to betray me, and at other times stirred by my friends with money to my destruction: I must pursue him to the uttermost, not as a righteous enemy, but as one that seeketh his things by treason. If I should accept the conditions of peate that you doe bring, I should acknowledge him to be victor, which liberally doth giue mee all that is behinde the River of Euphrates, not considering in what place I speake nowe vnto you. Haue you forgotten that I am passed the River of Euphrates, and encamped beyond the bounds ye proffer me in Dower? Driue mee from hence that I may know the same to bee yours, wherewith you would infect me. He proffereth me his daughter with no greater liberalitie then hee would doe to one of his seruantes.

B. ij.

D. ij.

Doth he thinke to do me a pleasure, in preferring mee to be his sonne in Lawe before Mazæus: Go & shewe this to your king, that both the thing he hath lost, and the thing he hath yet in possession, shall be vnto me rewardes of the warre, which warre shall discusse the boundes of both our Empires, and by the fortune of battailz we shall fight to morowe, appoint to ech of vs our limittes, Let him knowe, that I came not into Asia to receiue, but to giue. If he would haue bene content to haue bene second person, and not coueted to be equall with me, I would peraduenture haue graunted his request. But as two Sunnes cannot shine on the earth at once, so likewise such two great kingdomes can not be at one time, without the subuersion of the world. Therefore let him either this day yeelde hymselfe, or els prepare against the morowes fight, nor let him not perswade himselfe to haue other fortune then he hath proued already.

The Embassadors replied: that seeing he was resolved to proceed with warre, he did royally in that he was plaine, and did not feed them forth with hope of peace. Their request was therfore that they might bee dispatched to their Prince, to warne him to prepare himself likewise. When they returned, they brought word that ther was no way, but to prepare for the fight. Wherefore Darius sente Mazæus out of hande with three thousand horsemen to keepe the passages, where by the Macedons should passe. When Alexander had perfourmed the funeralles of Darius wife, leaving with a small garrison all such as were unprofitable for the fighte, within the strength of his campe, sette for wardes towards his enemies. His footemen were deuided into two battailes, empayled with horsemen on both

both sides, and his carriage wente in the midst. He sent Medinas with horsemen vpon the spurs to discouer where Darius was: Who coming within the view of Mazæus, durst not passe any further, but brought reporte that he could heare nothing but the noyse of menne, and neighing of horses. Mazæus likewise discovered them, & returned backe to Darius, declaring that his enemies were coming: Then Darius (whose desire was to encounter with his enemies in the plaine and open fieldes) commaunded his men to be armed, and deuided them into two parts, whereof the one marched on the left hande, and the other on the right. In the battaile on the left hande, a M. of the Bactrian horsemen had the first place, with the like number of the Dahans and iij. M. Arachosians & Susians, after which band of horsemen there followed a C. hooked wagons, and behinde them Bessus with an other band of vij. M. Bactrian horsemen, and ij. thousand Massagets. The footmen of diuers nations came nexte in order of bat taile, not mixed together, but ech countrey men by themselves. Ariobarzanes and Drybates had the gouernment of the Persians, Gardians, and Sogdians. But their charge was deuyled, and Dsines that was come of the seven Persians, and of the bloud of noble kyng Cyrus had the rule of the whole. Other nations followed, whose names were scarcely knowne to their owne companie. Cradatus was the nexte, which hauing also fif-

tie hooked wagons, placed a bande of Caspian horsemen before them, and behind them the Indians, and other the inhabitants of the redde sea, rather names of menne then good assistance. This square was empailed with fifty wagons, into the which the Mercenary souldiers were ioyued. After them followed the menne of Armenia the lesse, then the Babylonians, and nexte the Bellitans, with such as inhabite the Collean mountaine. The Gortuans came next, which sometime followed the Medians out of Cuboia: but at those daies degenerated from their countrey customes. The Phrygians, Carchonians, & Parthians, enclosed the taile. This was the battaile on the left hand. In the battell on the right hand, were the people of the greater Armenia, the Caducians, Capadecians, Sarians, and Medians, who had fiftie hooked wagons. The summe of his whole armie was xlv. M. horsemen, and CC. thousande footemen. When they were placed in order of battaile, they marched forwarde ten furlongs, and then were commanded to stay. Whilist the Persians after that manner taried for their enemies, there fell a sodain feare amongst the Macedons: wherof there appeared no cause, and yet euerie man was amaled, and a secret dread entred into their hartes. The lightening that fell out of the ayre, being in the Sommer season, seemed like fier, and the flames sodonly appeering, were thought to come from Darius campe. If Darius
which

which was sent to obserue their comming, had set vppon them whilist they were in this feare, he might haue don them some notable damage. But he was slacke to doe his enterprize, and remained vpon the top of an hil, contented that he was not assailed. Alexander perceiuing the terrour that was come amongst his menne, made a signe for them to stay, & gaue order that they should vnarme themselves, and refresh their bodies: giuing them to vnderstand that ther was no cause why they should so sodainly conceiue a feare, seeing their enemies were yet a good distance from them. At length, when he perceiued they had recovered their spirites, hee exhorted them both to receiue courage, and to put on their armour. But yet he thought nothing more expedient for the case presente, then to fortifie his campe in the same place. The next day Darius which had planted himselfe on a high hill, from whence hee might beholde hys enemies campe, either for feare, or else because his commission was but onely to discouer, returned agayne vnto Darius. Vppon his departure the Macedons by and by tooke the hill which he had forsaken, the same being of more strength then the plaine, where they remained before, from whence they might behold their enemies camp. And though the mist which the moisty hills dyd cast forth, tooke not away cleerely the vse of the prospect: yet it letted them to discern the diuision of their enemies battailes, and their order,
B. M. the

the multitude of whom ouer-spread the fieldes, and the noise of such a number filled their eares though they were farre off. When Alexander began to reuolue in his heade, and to debate with himselfe, one while Parmenios opinion, another while his owne. For he was come so farre forth, that he coulde not retire except hee were victor, without the great destruction of his armie. The multitude of his enemies moued him much in respect of his small number. Yet on the other part, he remembred what great actes he had done to them, & how many nations he had vanquished. So that hope surmounting his feare, he thought it most danger of all to deferre the battaile any longer, least desperation might growe amongst his men, and therefore dissembling the matter, caused the mercenary horsemen, and the Macedons to passe on before, and deuised his Phalanx (as it hath bene saide before) into two battailes, and empailed the same with horsemen on both sides. By that time the miste auoided, and it began to waie cleare, the order of their enemies appering manifestly. The Macedons then whether it were of courage, or for that they were impatient to tarie any longer, made such a shout as menne of warre doe when they ioine in battaile: the like was also made by the Persians. When the wooddes and valleyss round about rebounded wth the terrible sound. The Macedons could not abstain any longer, but would haue runne forwardes towarde their enemies.

But

But Alexander thought it better to fortifie his Campe vpon that hill, and so commaunded it to be entrenched about. Which worke being speedily persourmed, he entred into his tent, from whence he might behold the whole army of his enemies hoste. When the whole fashion & fount of the daunger that was at hand, was presented before his eyes: both horsemen and footemen glistred in their bright armour, and all thinges were prepared with great diligence. He behelde the care of the Captaines in his enemies camp, how they did ride by and downe to set thinges in order. And diuers thinges which were but vayne in deede: (as the noise of men, the neighing of horses, and the glistering of their armour) troubled yet his minde that was carefull in the expectation of the matter. Therefore whether it were y he was not fully resolved in his mind, or else to proue the mindes of such as were aboute him, called his friends to consult what was best to do. Parmenio that was the most expert man amongst all the capitaines in the feats of warre, thought good not to giue his enemies plain battaile, but rather to sette vpon them in the deade time of the night, whereby hee thought they might easily be discomfited: supposing that they amongst whom there was so great diuersitie of customes, and alteration of language, could neuer assemble well togither, specially when they should be put sodainly in feare in the night time being a slepe: whereas in the day time the shape

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of the Scythians & Bactrians, with their rough faces & long haire, besides the hugenes of their bodies should appeere terrible. And argued how souldiers were moze moued with vaine causes of feare, and such as were of no moment, then with such as were iust causes in deed. He declared also howe their enemies by reason of their great multitude, shoulde bee able to enclose their small number rounde about: and that they shoulde not nowe fighte in the streightes and narrow passages of Cilicia, but in an open and large plaine. They all in manner agreed to Parmenio his saying: and Policarpon was of a plaine opinion that the victory consisted in the point which he had deuised. The king that before had taunted Parmenio moze bitterly then he thought good, would not checke him agayne, but beheld Policarpon, and saide.

That pollicie that you aduise me, pertaineth to stealers and theues: for it is their propertie to worke by sleight and deceite. I will no moze suffer that eyther Darius absence, the streightnes of the ground, or the stealth in the night, shall be an hinderance to my glory. I am plainly determined to haue to doe with him in the open day, and had rather repent mee of my fortune, then be ashamed of my victorie. Besides this, it is to be considered, that the Persians keepe good watch, and stand armed alwaies in a readines to receyue vs, whereof I haue aduertisement, so that they cannot be deceiued that way. Therefore there doeth remaine no moze, but that you prepare your selues to the battaile.

When he had by these wordes put them in a courage, he dismissed them from counsell, to refresh their bodies. Darius coniecturing that his

enemies would haue done the same thing that Parmenio did perswade, caused the horses to stande readie bridled the whole night, and the moze parte of his host to continue armed, and keepe good watch. His campe shone bright with the fiers that were made, and he himselfe with his Capitaines and kinsfolkes wente about bys battailes that stode in order and in armes, making inuocation to the Sunne, to Mars, and to the euerlasting fier, that they would inspire vnto them a fortitude of mind, that might answer to the auncient glorie and actes of his predecessours. And shewed if the minde of man were able to conceiue any tokens or signes of the gods fauour or assistance: it was no doubt but that they were bent on their side, hauing alreedy stricken a sodeine feare amongst the Macedons: which (he saide) might bee seene by their running here and there, by the carrying and casting of their armour. And that the Gods which tooke care of the Persians Empire, were nowe determined to punish those cowardes: Whose Capitaine (quoth hee) beeing of no other sort then the rest, were like vnto those wild beasts, which through greedines of the praye that they doe conuect, fall into the snares that bee sette for them. The like care was amongst the Macedons. For as though the matter shoulde haue bene tryed that night, they passed it ouer in doubt and fear. Alexander himselfe (that was neuer seen in such feare before that time) called for Aristander

to make bolwes and pzaiers: who in a whyt^e garment carrying Werbenes in his hande, with his head couered, wente befoze the king, calling vpon Jupiter, Minerva, and Victozia. When he had thus perfourmed his sacrifice according to their religion, he returned into his pauilion to rest the residue of the night. Yet could he neither rest nor sleepe, but continually debated wpyth himselfe which way he shoulde assaile his enemies. One while he was of opinion to giue his first onset vpon that battaile of the Persians y^e shoulde come on his right hande. Sometime hee determined to meet his enemies in the very frōt and otherwhile was in doubt whether it were better to set first on their left battaile. At length his bodie became heauie with trauaile of the minde, and he fell into a sound sleepe. When the day appered, the Capitaines assembled together about y^e kings pauilion to receiue their charge, where they stode amazed with greater silence then they were accustomed. For they could not but wonder that Alexander, who was euer wōt to call vpon other men, and to reprove such as were slowe or negligent, not to be then stirring when the matter was come to the point of the extreme danger. And many were of opinion that he slept not, but thynke for feare: yet for all that none that were about his person durst attempt to awake him. In the mean season the time past away, and the souldiers might neither put on their armour, nor go in order of battaile, with

without commaundement of their head. When they had thus tarried a good while, Parmenio gaue commaundement they shoulde sal to meat. At length when the time came, that of necessity they must set their battailes, he entered into the kings lodging, and called vpon him diuers times by his name: but when hee could not awake him with his voice, he stirred him with his hande.

It is far forth day (quoth hee) and your enemies come forwarde in order of battayle, and your souldiers being yet vnarmed, haue no commaundement giues them what they shall do. Where is that cheerefulness and courage of yours become, which were wont to stirre by other men?

Alexander made answer vnto him.

Thinke you that I could sleepe before that I had rid my selfe of the care that letteth me to take my rest and thereupon caused the trumpets to blowe to the battaile. But when Parmenio continued still in admiration that he in such a tyme could sleepe so quietly, It is no maruell (quoth Alexander) when Darius burned the countrey, wasted the villages, and destroyed the victuals. I could then in no wise be quiet. But now what cause haue I of feare, seeyng he prepareth himselfe to fight: he hath now fulfilled my desire: resort you where your charge lieth, and I will straighe waies come to giue order amongst you, and reason this matter afterwards.

He vsed seldome to take his frendes aduysse, when any doubt or danger was at hand. When Parmenio was gone, hee armed himselfe, and came forwarde amongst the souldiers. They seeing him looke so chearefully as they had not done before time, conceived by the boldnes of his countenance a certaine hope of the victorie.

Then he caused the trenches of his campe to be cast downe, that the souldiours might haue free passage forth, and so did set his battailes in order. The horsemen which they call Agenia, of whome Clitus was Capitaine, were set in the wing of his right hande battaile, to whome hee ioined Philotas and other Capitaines. The last band of horsemen was Meleagers, which went next vnto the square battaile of y^e footemen that the Macedons name Phalanx. After the phalanx followed the Argiraspides, of whome Picanor the sonne of Parmenio was Capitaine. Genos with his band was appointed to be a reliefe: Poristes and Lincesta came next in order, and after them Polycarpon y^e had the rule of the Arangers, and Phylagus which had the rule of the Balacrans. And this was the order of Alexanders battaile in the right warde, whereof Amintas was chief. In the left battaile Craterus had the charge of the Peloponnesian horsemen, and with him also the bands of the Acheians, Locrians, and Moleonensians, and the last troupes were the horsemen of Thessaly, vnder Philip their capitaine. Thus the horsemen couering y^e footmen, made the front of the left battaile. And lest the enemies through their multitude should enclose the battaile about, hee planted a great force behinde for the reliefe of that matter, and set a reliefe also vppon the winges, not in front with the rest, but vpon the sides, to the intent y^e if the enemies attempted to compasse about the battailes

battailes, that they should be ready to keepe the doing. Those that occupied the places of reliefe were the Agrians, of whome Attalus was capitaine, and the Archers of Crete ioined vnto them. Such as stood in the hinder partes of the battailes, were ordered to turne their faces from the frontwardes, because that being in a readinesse euerie waye, the battayles in euerie place should be of like force. They which stood with their faces contrariwise were the Illirians, and the mercenary souldiers, with the Thracians that were lightly harnessed. These his battailes were sette so aptly to be turned euery way, that such as stood in the hinder partes could not be enclosed about, but might towardes ech parte make their front: So the front, the flanks, and the hinder parts were all of like force. When he had set his men in order after this manner, hee gaue a maundement that if the Persians should put forwards vppon them their hooked wagons with a crie or noise, that then they shoulde open their battailes, and receiue them with silence, not doubting but that they should passe through without harm doing, if no man did resist them. But if they should come without anye shoute or clamour, that they themselves would make a crye to scare the horse withall, and so with pykes thrust them in on euerie side. They that had the charge of the battailes were commaunded to extende them so much in breadth as they mighte, least by standing ouer close, they

they might be enuironed, and yet not so stretch them so farre out, to leaue the places voide, or thinne in the middelt. The cariage and the prisoners (amongst whom Darius mother was) were sette on the toppe of an hill, with a small garde about them. The charge of the lefte battaile was committed vnto Parmenio, as was accustomed before time & Alexander himself was in the other. When they were come nere together, one Byon came fleeing from the Persian host in all the haste he could make, and declared vnto the king that Darius had planted Iron galtoppes, where as hee thought his horsemen should passe, and by a certain signe shewed him the place, because it might be auoyded. Alexander willed the fugitiue to be kept safe, & assembled all his Captaines together, declaring y^e matter, and exhorting them to make their souldiers priuy to the daunger, for eschuing the place pointed out to them. But all that were in so great an army could not heare the warning giuen, y^e noyse of both armyes taking away the vse of the eares. But Alexander riding betwixte the battailes, gaue exhortation to the Capitaines, and to al other that were within hearing.

He declared that there was but one hazard remaining to them that had passed through so many countreys in hope of the victorie, which they were nowe readye to fight for. There upon he reduced to their memozy the battailes they had fought, at the Riuer of Granike, in the mountaines of Cilicia, and with what speede they had passed ouer both Siria and Egypt, the rehearfall whereof

whereof put them in great hope, and picked them forwards to the desire of glorie. He shewed that the Persians being withdrawne againe from their former lying, were nowe compelled to fight of necessitie, because they could flie no further, and how that these daies together amazed for feare, they had remained still in one place with their armour on their backs. Of whose dispaire (he said) there could be no greater argument: he that they had set on fire their owne cuntrey, confessing all to bee their enemies, that they destroyed not. He exhorted them not to feare the bayne names of vnkowne nations: for it was a thing nothing pertinent to the moment of the matter, which were called Scythians or Caducians. For that they were vnkowne nations was the greatest token that they were men of no valour: for because such as be valiaunt men could neuer be vnkowne in the world. And contrariwise bastards when they come forth of their denness, bring nothing with them but names of men, whereas you (quoth he) that be Macedons, haue obteyned by your vertue and manhood, that there is no countrey in the world ignorant of your actes. He willed them to behold the euill order that was in their enemies hoste, of whome some had no swapon but a darte, other a sling to cast stones, and verie fewe had such armour as they ought to haue. So that though there were a great number on the other parte: yet (hee saide) they had more on their side that should come to handstrikes. And that for his part he woulde not require any man to aduenture himselfe, except he were an example to them to shew valiantnes and courage: For he promised that he should be seene fighting with the foremost, knowing that so many wounds as hee should get, should be so many ornaments to his person. He saide, they themselves knewe that hee woulde be no partaker of the pray, but that euer his custom was to bestowe the rewardes of the victorie to their behoufe and commoditie. His former wordes hee shewed to bee spoken to such men as were of courage, but if ther were any that were otherwise, he had to say vnto them: that they were come vnto the place from whence they could not flie, hauing lefte so many countreys behind them which they had passed ouer, and so

maire Rivers and mountaines at their backs. So that now there was no way to their houses and countrey, but such as they must make open with their own handes.

This was the exhortation he gaue vnto the Capitaines, and to such of the souldiers as stood next him. Darius that was in his left battaile, accompanied with a choise band of elect horse and footmen, despised the small number of his enemies, their battailes appering to him thinne and void of men, when he sawe their winges stretched so farre abroad. He stode therefore on his Chariot on high, and turning himselfe both on the right hand and the left, spake in this sort to such as were about him.

We that not long ago were Lordes of all the countreies betwixt Hellespont and the Ocean Sea, are compelled now to fight, not for fame and glory, but for our sauegarde and our libertie, which chiefly is to be esteemed. This day shall either establish or make an end of the greatest Empire that hath bene in any age. At the River of Granike we fought with a smal part of our power, wher we were vanquished in Cilicia, Siria was able to receive vs, and the Rivers of Tigris & Euphrates were as bulwarkes to defende our kingdome. But now we be come to that point, that we have no place to flie to, if we be put to flight. A l things behinde our backs are wasted with this long warre, neither Cities be inhabited, nor menne left to till the ground. Both our wives and our childzen doe followe this army, a pray ready for our enemies, except we put forth our bodies for the defence of such as be deare vnto vs. So much as hath concerned mee, I performed, preparing such an army as this huge plaine is scarcely able to receive: I distributed amongst you horse and armour, providing that victuals should not wante for such a multitude, and have chosen out an apt place to arrange our battailes in. All the rest remaineth in your handes.

handes. Do but dare, and the victorie is yours: despise you this fame which is but a weake weapon agaynst men of valure. It is rashnes which hitherto yee have feared as a vertue, wherof when the first brunt is spent it waxeth then dull as these Drones hauing once loste their tongues. This plaine hath disclosed their small number, which the mountaines of Cilicia did hide: you see howe thinne their rankes be, their winges howe they be extended abroad, how their battailes be empty, and boyde of men, and such as be hindermost haue already turned their backs. They may be ouerthrowne with your horse fete, though I send none against them but the hooked wagons. And if we winne the battaile, we make an end of the warre, for they haue no place to flie vnto. They be shut with Tigris on the one side, and with Euphrates on the other: and such things as before made for their purpose, be now turned, and make cleere against them. Our army is light, & without baggage, and they be laden with praies and booties. Wee shall kill them therfore as they be wrapt in our spoiles. And the same one thing shall be both our gaine, & the cause of our victorie. If any of you be moued with the fame of that nation, you must thinke that the armour with the outward shewe, & not the bodies of the very Macedons be there presente: wee haue consumed so much of their bloud since the warre began. And seeing they be but fewe, their losse must needs be to them the greater. For how great soeuer Alexander doth seeme to such as be fearfull & cowardes, he is but a man, & if you trust me, both rash & without consideration: & hitherto more fortunate through our feare, then by his own valour. There is nothing can continue that is not gouerned by reason. For though fortune seeme to fauor for a while, yet at length she shall not support his rashnesse. Besides that, the estate of things be full of chaunge, & no man hath perpetually felicitie. It may be that the prouidence of the gods haue so ordeined it, that the empire of the Persians increased with such prosperous successe by the space of CC. and xxx. yeres, & brought to so great an height of fortune, should now rather be shake then utterly ouerthrowne: therby to admon. sh. vs

of mans fragilitie, which bicteth to forget himselfe ouer-
much in prosperous citate. It is not long ago since of
our owne motion and courage, we moued war against
the Grecians, and inuaded their dominions: but now
we stand at defence in our owne countrey. Thus we
be toiled one against another by exchange of fortune.
For one nation cannot beare the greatnes of the Em-
pire that we both do conet. But be it so that hope were
taken fro vs, yet necessitie ought to picke vs forward:
the matter is come to such extremitie. He keepeth now
vs prisoners both my mother, my two daughters, and
Oechus my sonne, bozne to the succession of this Em-
pire. He keepeth captiue your Princes, the issue that is
descended of the blond royal: yea, and your Capitains
equall with kings, and if you do not now lay to your
handes, I my selfe am like to become captiue. Deliuer
you therefore my bowels out of prison, and restore to
me my children, for whose sake I do not refuse to die.
Wee you all sure that both my mother and my children
(for my wife is deade in prison) be holding vp their
handes, crying vnto the Goddes, and calling for your
helpe, your compassion and fidelity, that you would de-
liuer them from seruitude, from fetters, and from the
estate they are in, lining at other mens will & appoint-
ment. Thinke you that they can be content to liue vn-
der such, as they could scarcely bouchsafe to haue for sub-
iects? I see that our enemies battails doe approach, and
the nearer the daunger is at hand, the lesse I weards I
haue spoken doe satisfie mee. I make request to you by
the Gods of our countrey, by the eternall fier that is
caried vpon the altars, by the brightnes of the sunne,
that riseth within the boundes of mine Empire, and
by the euerlasting memorie of Cyrus, which firste did
take the Empire from the Medes and Lidians, and
gave it to the Persians, to deliuer their name and this
nation from shame and reproch. Go forth cheerefully,
haue you good hope, and see that you restore to your po-
steritie the glorie you receiued of your elders. Lo, you
are now in your handes your libertie, your help, and
hope in time to come. Whosoeuer therefore contemneth
death, escapeth death, and death ouertaketh such
as do flie from death. I ride here in a Chariot, not on-

lie for that it is my countrey custome, but also that I
may be seene of you all: And I desire nothing so much
as that ye will followe me, whether I shew you an ex-
ample of prowes, or of cowardnes.

In the meane season whilest Alexander dyd
couet to eschewe the place of perill whereof hee
was warned, and enforced himselfe to encounter
with Darius leste battaile, where he remained
in person, was compelled to fetch a compasse a-
bout. Whome when Darius perceiued, he tur-
ned likewise his owne battaile towarde him,
willing Bessus to appoint the Massagets horse-
men to giue a charge on Alexanders left battell.
He set before him his hooked wagons, which by
a signe giuen brake out sodainly vpon their ene-
mies with a full course, to the intent that by
their comming vniuares, they might doe the
greater destruction. The pikes that were set be-
fore in the wagons destroyed diuers, and manie
were torne asunder by the hookes that were on
both sides. The Macedons gaue not place to the
by a litle, and litle, but troubled their aray with
a maine flight. When Bazeus saue their disor-
der, he put them in more feare, and appointed
out a thousand horsemen to fetch a compasse a-
bout the Macedons battailes to spoile their ca-
riage, supposing that the prisoners which were
there kept, would breake their bands when they
should see their owne nation approach. Parme-
nio which was in the leste wing perceiued this
matter well, and therefore sent Holidamas vn-
to Alexander to shew him the daunger, & knowe

his pleasure what he would haue done. When he vnderstood the case by Polydamus :

So thy way (queth he) and shewe Parmenio, if wee winne the battaile, we shall not only recouer again our own, but shal also haue the spoile of our enemies. Therefore I would not that any part of our force should be removed from the maine battaile, but let him fight it out manfully, and not regarde the losse of baggage, wherein he shall obserue the honour of me, and my father Philip, whose custome was to do the like.

In the meane season the Persians were entered among the cariages, and had slaine diuers that were left there in defence: whereupon the prisoners began to lose themselves, & taking by whatsoeuer came to hand, tooke parte with the horsemen, and sharply assailed the Macedons. Diuers were so ioyfull that they ran to beare tidings to Sili-gambis, howe Darius had won the victorie, & had ouerthrowne his enemies to their great slaughter, and also that all their carriage was weene, thinking the like fortune had bene euerie where, seeing they saue the Persians sal to spoile. And although they exhorted Sili-gambis that she should leaue her heauinesse & reioice, yet she continued in the same estate she was in before, without speaking one worde, or chaunging colour or countenance, but sate still immouable. Shee was so overcome (as it was thought) with sodeine ioy, y she durst not stirre nor attempt fortune. For such as did behold her, could not perceiue, which way she was inclined. In the meane season Amintas, y was maister of the horse to Alexander, came w a few bandes of

of horsemen to succour the cariages, but vncertaine it was whether he did it of his owne head or by the kinges appointment. He was not able to endure the force of the Cadusians and Scythians, for scarcely attempting the skirmish, hee was driven backe, and fled againe vnto Alexander, being rather a witnessse of the losse of the carriage, then a rescuer of the same. The grief that Alexander conceiued of this matter overcame the purpose he tooke before, and feared (not without cause) least the souldiers through the carefulnes to recouer their own, might leane y fight and resort toward their baggage: he sent therefore Aretes Capitaine of the spearmen y were named Sarissophery, against the Scythians. By this time the hooked waggons, which had somewhat troubled the forefront, were come within the square (which the Macedons call Phalanx) yet the souldiers neuer shrinkt at y matter, but receiued them into the middelt of their battell. Whereas ioyning themselves close together, they stood lyke a wall on both sides, thrusting their pykes into the bowels of the horses, running about the wagons, and throwing downe such as stood in them at defence. The whole battaile was entangled and troubled with the ruine and killing of the horses, with such as gouerned them. They could not rule their horses when they were once galled and hurte: which with much leaping and strugling, not only brake out of their trace, but also ouerthrew their wagons.

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traw

miscary, neither they could be safe, nor yet desire to liue. Wherefore euerie one of them thought it a noble thing to aduenture themselves before the face of their prince, & he that coueted moste to defende his maister, was in most perill, for ech man desired the honour to kill the king on his contrary part. There (whether it were an imagination of the eyes, or a thing done in deed) such as were about Alexander, belæued y they sawe an Eagle flickering about his head, which neither feared with clashing of the harnisse, nor by crying of them that were dying, hung still in the ayre a litle aboue him. When Alexander which wore a white garment, and caried laurell in his hand, shewed this thing vnto the souldiers being busie in fighting, as a certeine token of victorie. That thing caused them which before were in some doubt, cheerefully & w great confidence to assaile their enemies. The fight continued after this sorte, vntill the time y he was slain, which gouerned the horse y drew Darius chariot. When neither the Persians nor Macedons doubted but that Darius had bene slaine. And the Persians vpon that imagination made a barbarous noyse, & a sorrowful howling, wherewith they were troubled & astonished their whole hoste, that were yet fighting with equal victorie. Darius kinsmen and the Squires for his bodie that were on his left hand, left him & fled away with a maine flight: but such as stood in his defence on his right hand, conueied him into the heart

heart of the battaile. It was saide that Darius drew his sword, and was determined diuers times to kill himselfe, rather then to sustein the shame of flying away. But when he saue (as he saue aloft vpon his Chariot) that a great part of his army remained yet fighting, hee was ashamed to leaue them in such sorte. And whilest he thus wauered in his opinion betwixte hope and dispaire, the Persians by litle and litle gaue ground, and shrunke from their order. Alexander that had tyed many horses, did at that instant chaunge a newe, and strake at the faces of them that made resistance. There was none then that made resistance any longer, but a manifest slaughter fell vpon the Persians, and Darius turned his chariot to flie away. The Macedons pursued harde after them that fled, & the dust y flew vp to the skie, took away their prospect, so that they wandered as it had been in darknes, & euer drew togither when they heard any voice that they knewe. Onely the ratling & noyse of the Chariot, was a token for the Macedons to follow after. As fortune was prosperous to the Macedons on this parte, & contrarious to their enemies: so on the other side, wher Parmenio in the left wing encountred with the Persians, they had the better, & the Macedons the worse. Mazeus with his whole band gaue a charge, and put the horsemen that stood in the winges to a sore distresse. And therupon by reason he abounded with multitude, beganne to enclose

close the footmen about. Then Parmenio sente word to Alexander in what daunger they were in, which he signified to be such, that except they had succour in time, they could not resist, but be enforced to flie away. Alexander was gone far in the chase when this sorrowfull message was brought him, wherefore hee commaunded the horsemen to stay, and chased wonderfully that the victorie should thus be taken out of his hands, and that Darius had better fortune in fleeing then he in his following. In the meane season y^e same of Darius ouerthrowe was brought vnto Mazæus. Wherefore, though he had the vpper hand, yet he was stricken with such feare of his fellowes misfortune, that he made a slacke pursuite vppon their enemies. Parmenio was ignorant of the cause why the fight did slacke so willingly of their parte, but boldly vsing the occasion of the victory, called vnto him the Thesalian horsemen, and saide: See you not howe our enemies that euen now gaue vs a fierce onset, be sodainly afraide, and withdraue themselves? I see the fortune of our king doth gyue vs the victorie. All the fiede is strowne with the Persians that be slaine. Why do you therefore stay? Are you not good enough for men that bee flying? They saue his wordes had an appearance of truth, and therfore by and by they took courage, and putting their spurres to the horse, gaue a full charge vpon their enemies, who retired not by litle and litle, but marched away a great

great pace. And they wanted nothing of flying, saying that they had not yet directly toured their backs: yet for all that, in so much as Parmenio knew not what was become of the king nor of his battaile, staied, and would not pursue after them. Mazæus hauing leysure giuen hym to flie at his libertie, passed the Riuer of Tigris, not the next waye, but by a further compasse about with more suretie, and recovered the Citie of Babylon, with the remaines of that vanquished armie. In the meane season Darius with a few that accompanied him in his flying, came to the Riuer of Licus, where passing ouer, he stood in doubt whether he should breake the bridge or no. For it was shewed him that his enemies were at hand. But considering how many thousands of his men by the breaking thereof should bee a pray to his enemies, he lefte the bridge standing, and at his departure said: that he had rather open the way to them that pursued them, then to shut it against them that fledde after him. But Darius left not his flying till he came to Arbella, where he arrined about mydenight. Who is able to conceiue in his minde, or expresse in wordes the manifolde chaunces in this discomfiture, the slaughter that fell both vppon Capitaines and souldiers, the chasing of them that were put to flighte, and the destruction in particuler and generall? Fortune heaped together y^e one day, the chaunces of a whole worlde. Some took the way that came nexte to hand,

another sort fled vnto the wooddes, & sought out by pathes to escape such as had them in y^e chase. There was a confusion of horsemen & footemen mixed together without any heade, the armed with the vnarmed, & the whole with the hurte. At length the compassion that one had of another was turned into feare, & they that coulde not follow, were left bewayling themselves one to another. But thirst chiefly afflicted the wounded & wearied, which lay along euery where in the waies where any water was, gasping after it with open mouth, & when for greedines they had gulled in the troubled water, they began to swell, when the mud once entered into their entrilles. And being thus not in case to moue, the enemy came & stirred them vp wth new wounds. Some, when the brookes nere hand were taken vp by other, sought out for springes in euery secret place. For there was no puddle so drye nor so far out of the way, that coulde be hidden from the thirst of them that searched them out. The olde men & women were heard howling & crying in all the villages nere the way side, howe Darius was yet their king. Alexander (as it hath bene said before) pursuing the chase was come to the Riuer of Licus, whereas the multitude of the flyers was greater then could passe y^e bridge. So that manye when their enemies pursued them, leapt into the Riuer, & there laden wyth their armour, and wearied with fighting & flying, were consumed wyth the streame. But

with

withina while neither the bridge, nor the Riuer were able to receiue the throng that continually encreased by their vndercrete flying. For when feare was once entered into their heartes, they doubted onlie y^e which put the first in feare. The Macedons were eager in the pursuite of their enemies, & required Alexander that he would not suffer his enemies to escape free away. But hee to stay them, alledged that their weapons were dulled, their hands wearied, their bodies faynte with long pursuite, & the night besides fast approaching on. But in very deede the care of his other battell which he thought to be yet fighting, caused him to return to the succour. He had not so soon turned his ensignes, but that certeyne horsemen brought him worde from Parmenio, that he likewise had put his enemies to flight. He was not in so great daunger all that day, as when he was coming towards his camp. For there were but few that followed him, and they were out of order, as menne that reioysing of the victorie, iudged all their enemyes eyther to bee fledde or slayne in the fielde. Sodaynly there appeared a band of Persian horsemen coming against them, which at the first stayed, but afterwards perceiving the small number of the Macedons, gaue a charge vpon them. The king rode forworde, rather dissimulating then despising the perill he was in: but his perpetual felicitie neuer failed him in extremities. For at the first encounter hee strake the Capitaine of

of the Persians, who in egermes of the fight vn-
advisedly came against him, through with a
speare. When he with that blow was smitten
to the ground, Alexander slewe the nexte vnto
him with the same staffe, & after diuers other.
When his companie sawe their enemies ama-
zed with his doings, they brake vpon them, and
threw many to y^e earth: yet they for their parts
were not vnreueged, for the whole battaile
did not so earnestly fight, as that small band as-
sembled there by chaunce. But at length when
they sawe flying in the darke to be more suretie
vnto them then fighting, they shocked away in
diuers companies. Alexander hauing escaped
this extraordinary perill, brought his menne in
sauegard to his campe. There were slaine of y^e
Persians, which came to the knowledge of the
that had the victorie, xl. M. and of the Macedons
lesse then CCC. which victorie Alexander wan
more by his owne vertue, then by any fortune:
and with hardines & courage, more the through
any aduantage of the ground. For he both or-
dered his battailes politiquely, and fough man-
fully. With great wisdom he contemned the
losse of the baggage, considering the weight of y^e
whole matter to consist in the battaile it selfe.
Whilēt the fortune of the field was yet doubt-
full, hee vled himselfe as assured of the victorie.
And when he had put his enemies in feare, hee
ceased not till he had sette them flying, and that
which scarcely can bee beleued, in the fiercenes
of

of courage, he pursued in the chase more wisely
then greedily. For if he should haue followed on
still, part of his power yet fighting in the fiede,
he should either haue losse the battaile through
his own fault, or els haue won y^e victorie through
the prowess of other men. Or if after he had got-
ten the victorie, he had shewed himselfe afrayde
of the horsmen that he met, he must either haue
shamefully fledde, or els haue bene miserably
slayne. For his Capitaines were not to be de-
frauded of their commendation: for y^e woundes
that they did receiue, were tokens of their man-
hode. Ephestions arme was wounded wyth a
speare: Berdicas, Cenos, and Menidas, with
shot of arrowes were nere slaine. And if wee
will giue a true iudgement of the Mace-
dons that were there: we must con-
fesse that he was a king wor-
thy such ministers, and
they men worthy of
such a mai-
ster.



THE FIFTH BOOKE OF QVINTVS
Curtius of the Actes of the great
Alexander, King of Macedon.



If I shall make mention of the matters that chaunced in the meane season both in Greece, Iliria, & Thracia, by the appointment and commission of Alexander, in order as they fell: & matters of Asia should thereby be interrupted, which I thought most conuenient to put wholly together, vntil the death of Darius, and then to ioin them in this worke, as they agree with y^e time. I will first speake of those thinges that ensued after the battaile at Arbella, where Darius arrived about midnight. And as it chaunced, the more part of his friends, and of all other y^e were escaped from y^e field, were come thither. He called them al together, & spake to the this in effect: That he doubted not but Alexander and his men, gazing with greedy desire for the aboundance of spoyle that was in readinesse for them, would visite such Cities and intreys of his, as were most notable & plentiful of riches: which thing (he said) considering his estate, could not but turne at length to his auaille. His purpose was (hee saide) with a small band to repaire into the desertes. And seeing the bittermost boundes of his kingdome were yet vntouched, hee might from thence easily repaire his power again to renew the war

Let,

Let therefore that greedy nation (quoth hee) take my treasure, and satisfie their great hunger with gold, which shortly shall cause both the same and them also to be a pray vnto vs. For he had learned (he saide) by experience, that the aboundance of riches, and excelle of thinges, that their flockes of Concubines & Eunuches were nothing els but burdens & impediments: which Alexander possessing and carrying about, should make him inferiour vnto them of whome befoze he was victorious.

His oration seemed to all men to be full of desperation. For they saue thereby that the rich Citie of Babylon should bee giuen vp vnto the Macedons, and Susa shortly after, with all other ornaments of the Realme that were cause of the warre. But he proceeded in perswading them, hoire that men in aduersitie ought not to do thinges that should seeme goodly in the speaking, but necessary in the experience: that wars were made with Iron, and not with gold, with men, and not with the walles of Cities, for all thinges followe them that bee armed and in strength. He shewed that his aunccestors were afflicted after this maner at the beginning, and yet recovered again quickly their former estate. After he had spoken these words, either for that they thereby encouraged, or els that they rather obeyed his authoritie, then liked his counsell, followed him into the boundes of Media. Shortly after Arbella was giuen vp vnto Alexander, which was full of riches, & treasure of pretious stuffe, and princely apparaile, and besides the substaunce of the whole army was leste there.

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The sickenes that began in Alexanders campe, rising of the saour of the dead bodies scattered ouer all the fieldes, was the cause that he did sooner remoue. The plaine countrey of Arabia berie notable for the abundance of sweet odours there growing, lay vpon the right hand as they marched. And so passed through the countrey lying betwene Tiger and Euphrates, which is so fatte and plentiful a ground, that the inhabitants be faine to driue their beastes from feeding, least they should kill themselves by eating ouer much. The cause of this fertilitie cometh of moisture that issueth from both Riueres, distilling by veines through the ground. Both these Riueres haue their beginning in the mountains of Armenia, where they be distant v. thousand and five hundred furlongs, and so run forwarde keeping their distance, till they come nere the bounds of Medea and Cordia. For then by litle and litle, the further they goe, they drawe more nere together, leauing lesse space betwixt them. They enclose on both sides the countrey that is called Mesopotamia, from whence they runne through the boundes of Babylon into the redde sea. After Alexander had chaanged his campe foure times, hee came to a Citie called Memnium, wheras there is a fountaine within a caue, that boyleth out great plentie of pitch: so it appeareth that the Babylonians had their cement from thence, which they employed about the making of their huge walles. As Alexander was going

going from thence towards Babylon: Mazeus which was saide before to haue fledde from the battaile, came to meet him in most humble manner, whereas committing his children into his handes, yelded himselfe, and rendered vp the citie. His coming was very gratefull vnto the king, considering what trauaile he should haue sustained in the siege of so strong a Citie: if yt had bene kept against him. And besides, for so much as Mazeus was a man both famous and valiaunt, and much noted his doing in the laste battaile, thought his example should much prouoke others to do the like. For that cause he receiued both him and his children in gentle manner, and yet gaue order to his menne, that they should enter into the Citie in such arraye of battaile, as if they should fight. A great number of the Babilonians stood vpon the walles, desirous to behold him that was their new king. But the more part went forth to meete him. Bagistines that was Capitaine of the Castle, and keeper of the kings treasure, because he would shew himselfe to be no lesse affectionate towarde Alexander then Mazeus was, strowed all the wayes where he should passe with flowers & garlands, and set aulders of siluer on both sides, with frankensence burning vpon the same, and all other kind of sweet odors. Next vnto him came flocks of beastes, great numbers of horses, with Lyons & Pardalles carted in cages, which he brought as presentes to giue vnto Alexander. And after
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them the Magies, singing according to their countrey maner. The Caldies went nexte with their diuiners and prophets, and then the musicians with their kindes of instruments: whose propertie was to sing the praises of kinges, and the Caldies vsed to declare the motions of the planets, with the course and reuolution of the time. Last in order came the Babilonian horsemen, whose sumptuous furniture both for them selues and their horses, tended more to voluptuousnesse and delicacie, then to any magnificence. Alexander that was enclosed about with armed men, willed that the Babilonians should come behind his footemen, and he riding alofte in his Chariot entered into the Citie, and afterwards into the palace, where the next day he surueyed Darius treasure and riches. The beautie and pleasauntnesse of that Citie, gaue iust occasion to Alexander and suche as were with him, to wonder much vpon it. Semiramis was the builder thereof, and according to some mens opinion Belus, whose palace is to be seene there. The walles be made of bricke, set with a kinde of pitche called Bitumen. And they be xxiiij. fote in breadth, so that two cartes may easilie go vpon them a front. They be in height C. cubits, and the towers be x. fote higher than the rest of the walles. The compas of them aboute is CCClxxviiij. furlongs, being builded (as it is leste in memozy) in so many dayes. The houses stand the breadth of an acre distaunt from the walles,

walles, not builded throughout the citie, but onely by the space of lxxx. furlonges, and those not ioined neare one to an other, but for some consideration deuided a sunder. The rest of y^e ground is sowed and tilled, to the intent that if any forraign power come against them, they should be able to be relieued by the fruit therof comming. The riuer of Euphrates doeth run through the midst of the citie, and is kept in on both sides with wals of a wonderful workmanship. But the great caues made of bricke, and sette with pitche in stead of morter, wrought lowe within the ground to receiue the violence of y^e streame, do exceed all the rest of the workes there made: for except y^e same were of quantity & largenesse to receiue y^e water whē y^e streame floweth ouer the banks y^e be made to keepe it in, the violence thereof should beare down y^e houses of y^e Citie. There is also ouer y^e riuer a stone bridge which ioyneth both parts of the citie together, counted amongst the meruailous workes of the Orient. For by reason that Euphrates is so full of mudde and owse, ground can scarcely there be founde to laye the foundation vpon, and the streame besides casteth vp such heapes of lande against the bridge, that it is an impediment for the water freely to passe, & therefore beareth vpon y^e bridge with greater force, than if it had his free recourse. There is also a Castle that is xx. furlonges about, the towers whereof be thirtie fote deepe within the ground, and iiii. score fote

in height aboue the ground. Where also y^e wonders are to bee seene so often mentioned in the Græke poesies. For in the same be whole groues of trees set by wonderfull art aboue the ground, so high as the toppes of the towers, which bee marueilous beutifull & pleasaunt through their height and shadow that they make. The whole weight of them is sustained and borne by huge pillers made of stone, vppon which there is a floore of square stone, that both vpholdeth the earth that lyeth deepe vpon the pillers, and also the humour wherewith it is watered. The trees that growe thereupon be of eight cubits about, and as fruitfull as if they grew in natural earth. And although proceſſe of time is wont by little and litle not onely to destroy things made with hande, but also the verie workes of nature: yet this worke, for all it is oppressed with the rests of so many trees, and burdened with the weight of so much earth, and of so great a wood: Yet remaineth vnperished in any point, being sustented vp with xx. broad walles, distant xi. fote one from an other. When these trees be seen a farre off, they seeme to be a woodde growing vppon a mountaine. It is said, that a king of Siria reigning in Babylon, builded this worke for hys Wiues fantasie, who for the loue she had to woods and shadowy places, moued her husband in doing thereof to counterfeite the pleasantnes of nature. Alexander taried longer there then in any other Citie, which hurted more the discipline of the

the Macedons in their wars, then in any other place. For nothing was more corrupt then the maners and customes of that Citie, nor anie other was more abundantly furnished of al thinges, wherewith men bee allured and stirred to excessiue pleasures. The parents and husbandes were contented for gain, that their children and wiues should haue company with such strangers as came amongst them. The kinges & nobilitie of Persia, delyte much in banqueting pastime, but the Babylonians be specially gyuen thereunto, to wine and to dronkenness, wher the women vse such a custome, that in the beginning of the feast their apparell seemeth womanly and demure, but afterwards by litle and litle they put off their vppermost garments, and laying aside all shamefastnes, doe discover themselves naked. Which vile custome is not vsed by harlots onely, but by them all in general, which count the making of their bodies common, but a ciuilitie and good maner. In this voluptuousnes and abomination, the conquerour of Asia wallowed by space of xxiij. dayes whereby hee became much the weaker to haue doone other enterprises, if hee had had an enemy to stande against him. But to the intent the harme he toke should be the lesse perceiued, he increased his power with a newe supply of men. For Amintas the son of Andromenes, brought him from Antipater sixe thousand Macedon footmen, and fife hundred horsemen, and wyth them fife hundred

Thracian horsemen, with three thousand five hundred footmen of the same nation. He had also out of Peloponese four thousand footmen, and four hundred four score horsemen being Mercenary Soldiers. Amyntas also brought with him fifty young men of the Nobilitie of Macedonia to attend upon Alexanders person: whose office was to serue the king at meate, and to bring him his horse when he wente to battaile. They accustomed to be about him when he hunted, and kept the watche by course at his Chamber dore. These were they which afterwards proued great Captaines, and that was the race, out of y^e which the Rulers of their men of war did come. Alexander appointed Agathon Captaine of the Castle of Babilon, with seauen hundred Macedons, and three hundred Mercenary soldiers, and left Miletas & Appollidorus gouernours of the Cittie and the Countrey, to whom he assigned two thousand footmen and a thousand talents, giuing them in commission to wage more souldiers. He made Mazæus that gaue the Cittie into his handes, Lieutenant of the whole, and caused Bagistenes that yelde up the Castle to follow him in his warres. Armenia was giuen to Methrenes, that betrayed the Citie of Sardos, and to encourage his souldiers to the enterprising of other thinges, gaue out of the treasure of Babylon, to euery Macedon horseman five hundred deniers, to euery horseman of the strangers five hundred, and to euery

the footman two hundred. When he had set order in all these thinges, he came into the countrey called Satrapene, which being plentiful of all thinges, and abundant of vittaille, caused the king to tary the longer there. And least idlenesse should be any abatement of his mens courages, he deuised to stir vp their spirits, and keep them occupied, by appointing iudges to trie out such as had shewed themselves most valiaunt in the warres, to whom he assigned rewardes due to their deseruings. There were big. founde out, whose doings appeared aboue y^e rest, & the charge of a M. men was committed to euery one of th^e & were called Chiliarchi. That was y^e first time they put a M. in a band: for before that time they were deuided into v. C. which was not counted any great preferment, or reward of seruice. The number of them were great that came to plead their right in this behalfe, which before y^e iudges that gaue sentence, brought in testimony of their doings: whereby it could not be vnknown which of them had deserued iustlye such honour or not. The first place was adiudged to old Adarchias, for his valiantnes vsed in the battell at Alicarnasson, where he chiefly did restore againe the fight, when y^e young souldiers had giuen it ouer. The second place of honoz was giuen Antigonus & Philotas, Angeus obtained the third: the fourth was adiudged to Amintas, the fift to Antigonus. Amintas y^e son of Lincestes obtained the sixt. Theodoros the seauenth, & Hellanicus the

the last. Whereupon to great purpose hee altered many things that were vsed by his predecessors in the discipline of warre. For where as before the horsemen of euery countrey were in seuerall bands by themselves, he without respect of any nation appointed them such Capitaines as he thought expedient. And whereas at the removing of the campe, warning was accustomed to be giuen by a trumpet, the sounde whereof in any noyse or tumulte coulde not bee sufficiently heard: he caused an high pole to be alwaies set before his pauilion, wherupon remained a signe apparant to al men. The token that they obserued was fire in the night, and smoke in the daye time. As he was marching towarde Susa, Abulites that was ruler of the region, eyther by Darius commaundement, thinking by meanes of the spoile to deteine Alexander the longer there, or els of his owne free will, sent his sonne to meete him, proffering the deliuerie of the Citie. The young man was entreated verie gently, and by his conduction Alexander passed forwarde, till he came to the Riuer of Hydaspis, which is counted to be a very delicate water. Abulites there met Alexander with princely and rich giftes, and presented him amongst the reste of other things Doymedary Camels that were wonderfull swift, with xij. Elephants that Darius had sent for out of India, to be a terrour to the Macedons, which now are become an increase of their strength. When the riches of the

vanquished was come into the victors hands: hee founde in that Citie an incredible treasure, fiftie thousand talentes of Massie siluer vncoyned: which riches gathered together in y space of many yeeres by diuers kings for their succession and posteritie, thus in a moment came into the handes of a foireine Prince. Alexander being lodged within the Pallace, did sit downe in Darius seate: which being higher then seruued for his stature, by reason his fete could not reach to the ground: one of the kings pages put a boord vnderneath for him to tread vpon. At the doing whereof, one of the Eunuches that belonged to Darius looked heauily, and fetched a great sigh: whose sadnes Alexander perceyuing, enquired of him the cause. He answered, that when he beheld the boord whereupon Darius was wont to eate, employed to so base an vse, he could not behold it without great griefe. Alexander being therefore ashamed, so much to misuse the thing that before was had in such reuerence, caused the same to be taken away. But Philotas made request he should not so doe, but rather take it as a diuination of his good lucke and fortune, that the table whereupon his enemye did eate, should now become subiect vnder his feet. Alexander purposing fro thence to passe into Persia, committed the citie of Susa to Archilaus with iij. thousand men of warre, & to Zenophilus the charge of the Castle, leauing such Macedons as were aged there in garrison. But

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he did betake the keeping of the treasure vnto Callicrates, & restored to Abulites the gouernement and principallitie of the countrey of Susa, leauing within the Citie Darius mother & his children. And forasmuch as Alexander had at the same time plenty of cloth of purple sente hym out of his countrey, with garments ready made after the Macedons maner: for the honour hee bare to Sisygambis (whome he had in reuerence as if she had bene his mother) thought good to present parte of those to her, with the persons y^e used to make them: and willed it should be told her if she lyked them, she should accustome her nixes to make the like, and giue them for presentes. At the declaring of which message, the teares ranne out of her eyes, which declared y^e gifte not to be acceptable to her: for the Persian women take nothing in more despite, then to put their hands to wooll. When reporte was made to Alexander in what sorte shee had receiued his present, he thought both y^e matter meete to be excused, and her to be comforted. Therefore he came to visite her, and saide:

This garment which I weare, was bothe of the gyft and making of my sisters: our customes brought me into errour. Theretore I require you, that ye wil not take mine ignorance in euill part. I trust that other wise I haue obserued sufficiently all things which I knewe to be your custome. When I vnderstode that it was not lawfull amongst you for the sonne to sitte in the mothers presēce, except she doth giue him leaue whensoever I came into your presence, I woulde neuer sitte till you willed me so to do. You would often times haue fallen downe and worshipped me; but I

would not suffer you, but haue euer honoured you, and giuen you the name due to my swete mother Olimpiades.

When the king with these wordes had well pacified her, he departed, and by foure encampings came vnto a Riuer that the country men call Masatigras: which springing in the mountaines of the Arions, it runneth steepe downe amongst the rockes with wooddie bankes by the space of 50. furlonges: but then descending into a plaine, it becommeth nauigable, & so runneth with a more quiet streame, and in a softer ground by the space of vi. C. furlonges, till such time as it doth enter into the Persian Sea. Alexander passing this Riuer with nine thousand footmen of the Macedons, with the Agrians, the mercenary Grækes, and with foure thousande Thracians, came amongst the Arions, whose countrey is nere vnto Susis, and stretcheth out into Persia, leauyng betwixt it and Susis a narrowe streight. Madates had the rule of that countrey, who was such a man as was rare at that time: for hee determined to abide y^e extremitie for his dueties sake. Such as knew the Countrey, did enforme Alexander that there was a priue waye through the hilles whereby menne might gette to the furthestmost side of the chiefe Citie of that countrey: and if hee would sende a fewe that were light armed, they might bee brought to a place where they should appere aboue their enemies heads. This counsaile lyked him so well, that hee made the

counsaillers guides, and committed them to Tauron, whom he appointed chiefe of that enterprise. He assigned vnto him a M. v. C. mercenary souldiers, and a M. Agrians, with whom after the Sunne was gone downe, he entered into his iourney. Alexander in the third watch removed his campe, & by the spring of the daye had passed the streights. Where he set his men in hand to cut downe timber for the making of Towers, and all other such things as pertained to the assault of a Citie, and so began his siege. It was a difficult matter to make the approach, the Citie stood so high, and the rockes gaue such impediment, whereby the souldiers were repulsed, and receiued many hurtles, contending both with the enemies, and the situation of the place. Notwithstanding they gaue it not ouer, by reason the king was euer amongst the foremost, asking them if they were not ashamed, being the conquerours of so many Cities, to bee so long in the winning of a small castle, that was so obscure and vnkowne in the world. As he was traueiling amongst the rest, they did shoote and cast stones at him from the walles: whom the souldiers defended with their targettes, because they could not remove hym away. At length Tauron appeared aboue the castle of the Citie: at whose sight the enemies hartes fainted, and the Macedons the more fiercely did assault them. When they sawe themselues in this extremitie, and perceiued their power not able

to withstand the Macedons, they became of diuers dispositions. For some were determined to dye, and manie to flie away. But the greater part retired themselues into the Castle, from whence they sente vnto Alexander thirtie Embassadors to aske mercie. But he gaue vnto them a sorrowfull aunswere, that there was no pardon to be obtained at his hands. Whereupon they being in doubt of death, and excluded from all other remedies, sente vnto Sisigambis by a priue way vnkowne to their enemies, making their request that shee would vouchsafe to bee a meane to Alexander for the pacifying of his rigour and wrath towards them. In her onely they put their hope, knowing howe much Alexander loued her, and that he esteemed her as if she had bene his mother. And they thought she would the rather encline to their desire, because Madates y was capitain there had married her sisters daughter, whereby he became a kinsman to Darius. Sisigambis stood long in deniall of their request, shewing that it agreed not with her fortune to become an intercessour for others, adding thereunto, that she feared least she might misuse the victors fauor, and make him wearie of her: for she saide that shee had more remembrance that she was prisoner, then that she was a Queene. But at length she was overcome with their suite, and by her letters made intercession vnto Alexander after such a sort, that she first excused her selfe of her suite

king, & after required him that he woulde pardon them, or at the least wayes that he woulde forgive her, being petitioner but for the life only of such one, as was her friend & her kinsman, and now no longer any enimie of his maiestie, but in readinesse to submit himselfe. This one matter is sufficient to declare the moderation and clemencie that was then in Alexander: for he did not only pardon Madates, but also lefte the citie untouched, graunting to all that were within it both libertie and freedom, with enjoyment of their landes and goods, without paying of any tribute, more then that which she coulde not haue obtained of Darius being her Sonne. When he had thus subdued the Orions, he annexed them to the Province of Susa, and purposing to passe forwarde divided his armie into two parts, whereof he committed the one to Parmenio to be conducted by the plaine countrey, and reserving such a part as was pestered least with baggage, tooke the way of the mountaines, which with a continuall ridge, runneth out in length from thence into Persie. In his passage he destroyed all the mountain countrey, arriving the third day in the boundes of Persia. The 6. day he entred into the streights of Palae Susidae, which were defended by Ariobarzanes with xv. M. footemen, who keeping the tops of the high and steepe rockes that hung ouer on both sides the way, at the first kept themselves quiet of purpose, pretending a feare untill suche

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time as his army was entred into the narrowest of the streight. But when they sawe the Macedons passe on forwarde in their contempt, then they threw downe great stones vpon them: which falling vpon the nethermost rockes, and there breaking in peeces, rebounded among the Macedons, falling with such violence, that they distressed whole bandes at once. And besides, they did them great damage with shotte of arrows, and stones that they did cast out of slinges. Such as were men of courage were not so much grieved with the death and destruction that they saw there present, as that they should be slayne after such a manner like beasts caught in a pitte, whereas they could not be reuenged vpon their enemies. Their wrath here-upon was turned into such a rage and wodnesse, that they ranne vp against the rockes, and there enforced them-selues by taking holde, and by heauing vp one of an other, to mount vp vnto their enemies. But when they had caught holde by on some outward parte, and thereby laboured to ascende, by force of so many hands that fastened to it at once: they pulled asunder the thing they helde by, and so fell downe all together. In this case they could neither remayne, passe forwarde, nor yet defende them-selues by anye deuise they coulde make with their Targettes, seeing the stones were of suche weyghte that were throwne downe vpon them. Alexander was in great trouble of minde, not onely for the grieve

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he receiued by the destruction of his menne, but much more for the shame that he had brought his army into such a dangerous freight. He had bene inuincible before that day, and neuer attempted thing in vayne. He had passed the freights of Cilicia without anye hurte or damage, and opened himselfe a newe way by Sea into Pamphilia. Which felicitie of his seemed to be at a stay, and plucked backe: for he could perceyue no other remedy, then to returne by the way he came. He caused the Retreite therefore to be blowne, and gaue order to his souldiers to go close together, and by casting their targettes ouer their heades to returne backe again, after they had marched thirtie furlonges within the freight. When he was returned, and had planted his campe in an open ground, consulting what was best to do: such a superstition entred into his minde, that he called for the priestes, & diuiners to helpe the matter by their inuocation. But Aristander to whom he gaue most confidence, could do nothing in that case. Alexander therefore condemning their sacrifices, which he thought then done out of time, called for such as knewe the countrey. They shewed him of another way that was plaine and open ynough: but yet he liked it not, he was so ashamed to leaue his souldiers vnburi'd that were slaine. For amongst all other ceremonies obserued in the discipline of their warres, there was none more religiously kepte, then the burying of the deade.

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He caused therfore such prisoners as were lately taken, to bee called before him: amongst whom there was one expert both of the Greeke and Persian tongue, which shewed to the King that he laboured in vaine, if he thought to conuey his armie ouer the toppes of those mountaines, which (he saide) began at mount Caucasus, and closed in the one side of Persia, by the space of a thousand and sixe hundred furlonges in length, and a hundred & fortie in bredth, tyll such time as they come vnto the Sea, which also enclosed the countrey from the place where the mountaines ceased. The countrey lying at the foot of the mountaines, he described to be plain, fruitfull, and replenished with many faire Cities and villages, and that the Riuer of Araxes running through the same, falleth into an other Riuer called Medus, bringing with it the waters of many small streames. Which Riuer of Medus beeing much lesse then the same which it doth receiue, runneth from thence towarde the South sea. No place could be more abundant of grasse: for euerie where nere vnto the water, the ground was couered ouer with flowers. The Riuer was shadowed ouer with Platanes & Poplar trees, which by reason they stand some what high, and the water runneth lowe in a deepe channell, seeme to such as be a farre, to be woods adioyning to the mountaines. He counted no countrey in all Asia to be more wholesome, or to haue more temperate ayre then this, both

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the snowe also driuen with the winde, was a great impediment to them in their iourney. For they fell diuers times downe into pits, and such as coueted to pul them out, were oft times drawne after. The night also with the cuntry vnknowne, and the guide of whose fidelitie they doubted, encreased much their feare: considering that if they shoulde not deceiue their enemies watch, they should be taken like beastes. They weighed also that both their sauegarde and the kinges lay in the handes of one that was a prisoner. At length they came to a mounteine, whereas the way towards Ariobarzanes lay on the right hande. When he sent before by the guiding of such as they had taken prisoners, Phylotas, Cenon, Amintas, and Policarpon, wyth a bande of the lightest armed, whome he aduised, that forasmuch as they had both horsemen and footmen, and the cuntry fertill and abundant of fodder: that they should make no halt, but passe forwarde faire and easily. And hee with the esquires of his bodie, and the bande of horsemen that they call Agenia, was guided by another by path, far off from the place where his enemies kept their watch. But the passage was so streight and so hollow, that they suffered great trouble and veneration in passing thereof. It was midday, and they were so wearied, that of necessity they must take reste, hauing so far to go as they had traueiled already, sauing that the way was not so difficult nor so rough. He refreshed there

therefore his men with meate and with sleepe, and in the second watch did rise vp, and passed the reste of his iourney without any difficultie, sauing in that part where the mountein began to fall a slope towarde the plaine, their passage was sodainly stopped by a great gull made with the violence of the streames that ranne downe the mounteines, by wearing away of the earth. And besides the trees standing so thicke, and the bowes that grewe one within an other, appeared before them as a continuall hedge. When they sawe themselves stayed after this manner, such desperation fel amongst them, y they could scarcely abstaine from teares: the darkenes being a great encrease of their terror, seeing they could not enioy any benefite of the stars. For if any gaue light, the same was taken away by the shadowe of the trees. And the vse of the eares could not serue for one to receiue counsel or comfort at an other, the winde whirled so amongst the leaues, and the shaking of the bowes made such a noyse. But at length the day which they so much desired, diminished with his light the terrors that the darkenes of the night did make. For by fetching of a litle compasse about, they passed the hollowe gulle, and euery man began to be a guide. Finally they got vp into the top of the hill, from whence they might behold their enemies lying in campe. When the Macedons shewed themselves stoutly in their armour, appearing sodainly on their backs, when they mistrusted

struck no such thing, and there seldome such as came first to encounter with them. So that on the one part the greivous noyse of them y^e were slayne, and the miserable shewe of such as ran in for succour amongst their owne companie, put the reste to flight without making anye resistance. When the alarme was once heard in the campe where Craterus laye, the armye by and by passed forwarde to goe through the streights, in the which they were repulsed the day before. Philotas also with Polycarpon, Cynos, and Amintas, which were gone the other way: arrived at the same time, and gaue a further terror vnto their enemies. When the Persians sawe their enemies assailing in all partes at once, though they were so oppressed wth their sodeine invasion that at the first they were in doubt what to do: yet at length they assembled together, and fought notably, necessitie stirring v^p the faintnes of their hartes: for often-times despaire is the cause of mens good hap. They beinge vnto them that were armed, and with the weight of their bodies pulled their enemies to the earth, and killed diuers with their owne weapons. Artobarzanes wth fortye horsemen, and foure thousand footmen that kept about his person, brake through the battell of the Macedons, to the great slaughter both of his owne men, and of his enemies, & by makinge of haste, recovered Persopolis the chiefe citie of the Countrey. But when he was excluded from thence

thence by such as were within, he returned againe the fight with such as were wth hym: and so was slayne: by that time Craterus that made all the spede he coulde deuise, was come vnto them: and Alexander fortified his campe in the same place where he did discomfite his enemies. For though they were all fledde and he certain of the victorie, yet because hee founde his waye stopped in manie places with greate and deepe ditches, hee thought good to vse circumspection, and not to make ouer great haste: not so much for feare of his enemies force, as of the nature of the ground, which hee sawe apte for them to laye embushmentes against him. As he was passing forwarde, hee receyued letters from Amydates the keeper of Darius treasure, signifying that the inhabitants of Persopolis hearing of his coming, were about to spoile the treasure, and that therefore he shoulde make haste to prevent the matter: for the waye was ready enough, notwithstanding that the Riuer of Araxes was in his waye. There was no vertue in Alexander more commendable then his celeritie, which he shewed specially in this matter: for leauing his footmen behinde, he traueiled all night with his horsemen, and by the day light came to the Riuer of Araxes. Where hee founde villages at hande, where of the timber broken downe of the houses, they made a bridge in a moment, by the helpe of stones whiche were layde in the bottome of the Riuer. When Alexander

come of our wines whome chauce and necessitie hath gotten into vs here for the onely comfort of our imprisonment: What shall wee do with our children wee haue begotten here: take them with vs, or leaue them behind vs: If we returne with such as we haue here, none of those in Greece will acknowledge vs: & shall we then be so mad to leaue those comforts we haue already, being vncertaine whether we shall come to those we like or no: Merely much better it were for vs, to hide our selves amongst them which haue bene acquainted with vs in our miserie.

These were Entymeon his wordes: But Theatus of Athens reasoned to the contrarie. There is no creature (quoth he) in whome remaineth any sparke of honestie, that will esteeme vs by our outward shape, seeing that our calamitie is not come of nature, or by our own deseruing, but through misfortune and our enemies cruelty. Such as be ashamed of fortunes chaunces, as well worthy to suffer misadventure. They giue a grauous sentence vpon the estate of man mortalitie, and despaire much of mercie, that deny their compassion to men in miserie. Nowe therefore since the Goddess haue offered to you the thing which yee durst neuer haue wished for: that is your countrey, your wines, and your children, bearing the thinges which men esteeme more then life, and redeeme often tymes with death: why doe you doubt for the enioyment of those thinges to breake out of this imprisonment: I iudge the ayre of our owne countrey mooste naturall to vs, where we thinke is an other maner of liuing, other customs, other religion, & an other toong, which for the pleasur is coveted of the barbarous nations. What great thinges then bee those that ye would willingly leaue, the want of which only is the cause of your miserie: Why opinion is plaine that we desire our countrey and our home, and not refuse so great a benefite as Alexander hath proffered vs. If any bee so deteyned with the love of such wines and children as they haue gotten here in seruitude, lette such be no impediment to others, that of all thinges esteeme most their natural countrey.

There

There were but fewe of his opinion: for some that is of greater force then nature, preuailed in that matter. They agreed to demaund of Alexander the giste of some place to inhabite in, and there chose out a hundred to be suiters to him in that behalfe. When Alexander perceiued them comming towarde him, thinking y they would haue required the thing that hee conceiued in his minde:

I haue appoynted to euery one of you (quoth hee) besties to care you, and a hundred deniers, and when you shall come to Greece, I will so much provide for you, that excepting your misfortune, no other shall thinke themselves in better case then you.

But when he sawe them looke still towarde the ground, and that they neither lifted vp their eyes, nor spake one word, he enquired the cause of their heavinesse. When Entymeon rehearsed agayne those thinges in effect which he had spoken before in counsaile. The King therefore pitying no lesse their demaunde, then he dyd their misfortune: commaunded ij. thousand deniers to be giuen to euery one of them, and garments besides, with cattell and corne, whereby they might till and solue the land that should be appoynted vnto them. The nexte day he assembled all the Capitaines of his armie together, and shewed them that there was no Cittie more enemy to the Greeks then the same that was the chiefe seate of the auncient kings of Persia, from whence all the great armies had ben sent into Greece: and howe Darius first, and after

Æ. iij. c.

Xerxes had come out of that place to moue their vniust warre against Europe, with the destruction of which Citie, he thought good to reuenge their predecessors. The inhabiteurs had abandoned the Citie, and fledde where feare did dreyue them. Where-uppon the king streight wayes brought in all his footemen to the spoile thereof. He had before time wonne many Cities: some by force, and some by composition, that were full of riches, and princes treasure. But the abundance of that Citie did exceede all the reste, as in the place where the Persians had layde their whole substance. Golde and siluer was there found in heapes, and great plenty of rich vestures and furnitures of houses, not onely for necessitie and necessary vse, but for excesse and ostentation: which was so great, that it gaue the victors occasion to fighte amongst themselves, eche taking other for enemies, that had gotten the richest spoile. The plenty there was such, that they could not employe to their vse the Mythes they found, but when they sawe things of value esteemed them rather then tooke them awaye: Till such time that every one coueting, to haue a parte of euery thing, tare and brake asunder the princely Robes, and the pretious plate of curious workmanship, with the images of golde and siluer, which were either beaten in gobets or plucked in peeces, as every one caught hold: nothing was left vntouched, nor nothing caried away whole: crueltie bearing no lesse rule there then

then couetousnes, euery one was so loden with golde and siluer, that they esteemed not the keeping of the prisoners, but killed such as they first spared in hope of gaine. There were many therefore that prevented their enemies handes with voluntary death, and diuers that clothing themselves in their most pretious apparell, leaped downe from the walles with their wiues and children. Certain there were that set their own houses on fire (which they iudged their enemies would els haue done shortly after) because they would burne themselves amongst their owne familie. At length the king did forbid any violence to be done to women, and that no manne should meddle with any thing pertaining to the. The summe of money taken within this Citie, was greater then any man could well credite: but eyther we must doubt of the reste, or els beleue that hath bene leste in memory, how that the treasure there founde, amounted to a hundred and xx. thousand talentes: which treasure, because that Alexander purposed to employ in his wars, caused horse & camels to be brought from Susis and Babilon to cary the same. The taking of the Citie of Persagadis, wherein was found five thousand talents, was an increase to this summe, which Citie being builded by Cyrus, was yeilded vp by Gobares that had the keeping therof. Alexander left in the Castle of Persopolis, three thousand Macedons in garrison, vnder Picardes Capitaine of the same, and

referred to Merdates that delivered him the treasure, the same honour that he enjoyed with Darius. Leaving in this Cittie y^e greater parte of his armie, with his cariages vnder the rule of Parmenio and Craterus: hee with a thousand horsemen and a band of footemen, without anye baggage, went to visite in the winter season the inward parts of Persie. Where he was vexed and troubled with stormes and tempests that were in manner intollerable: but yet he letted not to goe forwarde in his enterprize to the place that he appointed. In his iourney he came vnto a Countrey that was couered all with snowe, and frozen by force of the great colde. The wilddnes and desert maner thereof, put the souldiers y^e were wried with trauaile in such a feare and terror, that they imagined to haue scene the vttermoost bondes of the worlde. For when they beheld all things wast, and no signe appearing of mans habitation, they were amazed, and made request to returne againe, before that the light and the elements should faile the. The king woulde not chastise them being in his terror, but leaped from his horse and went on fote in the snowe and the yce. Which thing when his frendes sawe, they coulde not for shame but followe: then the Captaines did the like, and finallye the souldiers. The king was the first that did breake the yce and made himselfe a way, whose ensample the rest did followe. At length hauing passed the woods that were

without

without way, they found here and there some apparance of habitation, and perceined flocks of sheepe. When the inhabitants that dwelled in cottages sparkled there aboutes sawe men comming, whom they iudged to be their enemies, thinking they had bene enclosed about, slew such as were not able to follow them, and fled to the wilde Mountaines that were full of snowe. But at length by communication with such as they took prisoners, their wilddnes was somewhat mitigated, and they yielded themselves to Alexander, whom he hurted not anye kind of way. When he had destroyed all that part of Persie, and brought the Colones vnder his obedience: hee came into the Countrey of the warlike Gardons, which differ much from y^e rest of y^e other Persians in their maner of living. They with their wiues & children did inhabite within caues in the mountaines, & liued with y^e flesh of sheepe, & wyld beasts. For the women according to their kind had any more apperance of meekenes or mildnes then the men, either in their personages or dispositions. But their curled haire did hang downe before vpon their faces, and their garments came but to their knees. The bands of their slinges were fillets for their foreheads, which they vsed both for ornament & for defence. This nation for all their barbaill & rude maner, could not escape to be subdued with the same force of fortune y^e others were. So that y^e xxx. day after he departed from Persopolis, he re-

D. y.

turned

turned thither againe. When he gaue rewardes to his frendes, and to all the reste according to their deserting, distributing in maner all the riches which he found in that Citie. But all his excellent vertues of the minde, his princely qualities, wherein he excelled all kinges, both that constancie in all daungers and perilles, that celeritie in devising and performing his enterprises, his promise keeping towards the yelden, his clemencie towards prisoners, and that temperance in lawfull and accustomable pleasures, were all defaced through the intollerable desire and delight he had in drinking. For notwithstanding that his enemy which contended with him for the Empire, did chiefly then prepare for the warres, and was gathering of his power together: and although the people newly conquered had not yet receiued quiet subiection: yet hee gaue himselfe continually to feasting and banqueting, where women were euer present, not such to whome men had respect of honestie, but harlots, which had there more libertie then was becoming in the companie of men of warre. Amongst them there was one Thais, who vpon a day in her drunkennes, affirmed to Alexander that he should wonderfully win the fauor of the Greeces, if he would commaund the Pallace of Persopolis to be sette on fire. The destruction wherof (she saide) they greatly desired, for so much as the same was the chiefe seate of the kings of Persia, which in time past had destroy-

ed

ed so many great Cities: When the drunken ha:lot had giuen her sentence, there were other present, who being likewise drunken, confirmed her words. Alexander then that had in him more inclination of heate, then of patience, said: Why do we not then reuenge Greece, and set this Citie on fire? They were all chafed with drinking and rose immediatly vpon those words to burn that Citie in their drunkennes, which the men of war had spared in their fury. The king himselfe first, and after his guests, his seruants and his concubines set fire in the Pallace, which being builded for the most part of Cedar trees, became sodainly in a flame. When the army that was encamped nere vnto the Citie saw the fire which they thought had bene kindled by some casualtie, they came running to quench y same againe. But when they saw the king there present nourishing the fire, they poured downe the water which they brought, and helped likewise the matter forwards. Thus the Pallace y was the head of the whole Orient, from whence so many nations before had fetched their lawes to line vnder, the seat of so many kings, the oracie terror sometime of Greece, the same that hath bene the seate: seyth of the Spanies of nine M. shippes, and of the armyes that overflowed all Europe, that made bridges over the Sea, and undermined mountaines where the Sea hath nowe his course: was consumed & had his end, and neuer rose againe in all the age that did ensue.

Dig.

suc.

sue. For the kinges of Macedon vbled other Citi-
 ties, which be now in the Persians hands. The
 destruction of this Citie was such, that the fou-
 dation thereof at this daye could not be founde,
 but that the River of Araxes doth shew where
 it stode, which was distant from Persopolis xx.
 furlonges, as the inhabitantes rather do beleue
 then knowe. The Macedons were ashamed
 that so noble a citie was destroyed by their king
 in his drunkenesse: yet at length it was tur-
 ned into an earnest matter, and they were con-
 sente to thinke it expedient that the citie should
 haue bene destroyed after that manner. But it
 is certaine, that when Alexander had taken his
 rest, and was become better aduised, he repen-
 ted him of his doing and saide: That the Per-
 sians should haue done the Greekes more harm
 if it had bene his chaunce to haue reigned in
 Perres stode. The next day he gaue xxx. talents
 for a reward to him that was his guide into
 Persia, and from thence he toke his iourney in-
 to Media, where a new supplie of souldiers (of
 whome Plato of Athens had y^e conduct) came
 to him out of Cilicia, being v. C. souldiers, and a
 thousand horsemen. When he had by this mea-
 nes increased his power, he determined to pur-
 sue Darius, who was come to Ceathana y^e head
 Citie of Media, & was purposed from thence to
 haue passed into Bactria. But fearing to be pre-
 uented by the speede his enemies made, altered
 his purpose and his iourney. Alexander was
 not

not come nere him by a M. v. C. furlonges, but
 he coulde not thinke any distance sufficient to
 defende him against his celeritie, and therefore
 prepared himselfe rather to fighte then to fle.
 He had with him xxx. M. souldiers, amongst wh^{ch}
 there were liij. M. Greekes, whose fidelitie neuer
 fayled in all his aduerse fortune. He had also liij.
 M. Archers and Slingers, besides thre M. thre
 C. Bactrian horsemen, which were vnder Bes-
 sus charge, being gouernour both of the Citie of
 Bactria, and the Countrey. Darius with his
 bande withdrew a little from the high waye,
 and commaunding the verlettcs, with such as
 had charge of the caryage to passe on before, cal-
 led a Counsaile, and spake these wordes vnto
 them.

If fortune had matthed mee with cowardes, & with
 such as esteemed any kind of life before an honest death,
 I would rather haue holden my peace, then consumed
 my wordes in bayne. But I haue had greater experi-
 ence then I would wish, both of your valiant courage
 and fidelitie towards mee. So that I for my parte
 ought rather labour to seme worthy to haue suche
 frændes as you are, then to doubt whether ye yet re-
 mayne the same mine towards mee that ye were be-
 fore. For of so many thousands that were vnder mine
 Empire, you onely haue followed and stucked by mee,
 when I was twice ouerthrowne in the field, and twice
 enforced to fle away. Your fidelitie and your constancy
 maketh me thinke that I remaine still a king. Trai-
 tours and fugitiues reigne in my Cities, not for that
 they be thought worthy of such honour, but that you
 might be prouoked by their rewardes to revolt against
 me. Notwithstanding, you haue chosen rather to follow
 mee in my misfortune, then be partakers of the victo-
 rers felicitie. You are worthy, whome the Gods shall
 reward, if I may not, as undoubtedly they will.

¶ liij.

There

There can no posteritie be so silent, nor no fame so begratfull, which shall not with due commendations extoll you to the starres. Though I was determined still to haue fled, whereunto my heart neuer agreed: yet now I haue conceived such a trust of your vertue and manhode, that I purpose to passe against mine enemies. How long shall I be as a banished man within mine owne dominion, and flee from a straunge and a foereine Prince within the bounds of mine own kingdome? When I may hazarding of the battaile, eyther recover that I haue loste, or els dye an honest death: Except peradventure it seemeth better to some menne, that I shoulde submit my selfe to mine enemies wyll, and by the example of Hazeus & Mithrenes, receiue by petition the dominion of some one Nation: wherein I iudge that Alexander had rather followe the inclination of his glozy then of his wyath. No let the gods neuer graunt that it may lie in any mans power, either to take away, or giue vnto me this Diademe vpon my head, nor that I lose this Empire so long as I haue breath. For in this I am determined, that my life and my kingdome shall end both together. If this mynde remaine likewise in you, and if this lawe be grafted in your hearts: there is none of you that can want libertie, there is none that shall be compelled to endure the ykesome of your enemies, neither their proud porte, nor their statelie looks. Every mans right hande shall then giue vnto himselfe either a reuenge, or an ende of all these euilles. Nothing can stand long in one stape. I my selfe am example of the alteration of fortune: & therefore it is not without cause that I looke for a better change. And if the worst fall, that the Gods wyll needes be against vs in our warres that be lawfull and honest, yet it cannot be taken from vs, but that we may alwaies manfully and honestly die. I require & make intercession vnto you by the honor of our predecessors, that with such fame and glorie possessed the kingdomes of the whole Orient, by those men to whom Macedon sometime was tributary, by so many Princes of this sent into Greece, and by so many victories wonne, that ye will take such courage and heart vnto you, as maye seeme worthy your nobilitie and your nation. So that

with

with the same constancie of mynde wherewith ye haue endured things past, you wil pzooue and attempt what soeuer fortune sends to you hereafter. I am resolved for my part to gette my selfe either perpetuall fame by the victozy, or by the notable aduenture we wyll giue for the winning thereof.

When Darius had spoken these words, the representation of the present perill so amazed them all, that they were not able to shewe their aduryse, or to speake a worde to the matter, till such time as Artabasus the moste auncient of his frendes (which before time had bene wyth king Philip) began to say his fantasy.

We are come into the field (quoth he) with you that is our king, in our moste pretious apparrell, and richest armour, with the intent to win the victozy: and if necessitie require, not to refuse death.

To whose words al the rest with their voices seemed to agree sauing Nabarzanes, who being present in that counceill with Bessus, and of his opinion, conspired a treason so wonderfull, that the like hath seldom been heard of before. Their determinatio was, by force of the souldiers they had vnder their charge, to put their king in hold with this purpose, that if Alexander pursued them, to deliuer him then alive into his handes to win his fauor, as a thing which they thought he would esteeme greatly. But if they could escape conueniently, then they were in minde to kill Darius, and deuiding the kingdom betwixt them, renue againe the warre against the Macedons. They hauing imagined this treasde long before in their minds, Nabarzanes thought this

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an occasion to make a preparatiue to his wicked intent, by a perswasion which he ther vttered.

I knowe (quoth he) that I shall speake the thyng which in the first apperance shall not be grateful vnto your eares: but phisitions vse to cure diseases that be great, with sharpe and bitter medicines. And the ship-masters when they feare a ship-wracke, accustom to redeme such things as may be saued, with the destruction and losse of the rest. Yet this matter that I meane is no perswasion to losse, but a deuise by what meanes ye may preserue your selfe & your kingdome. We make a war wherein the Gods seeme manifestly to be against vs, & fortune ceaseth not obstinately to pursue vs. It is needfull therfore that we lay new foundations, & seek out men which haue other fortune. My opinio is therfore, that you deliuer your kingdome vnto some mans handes which shall haue the name of king, so long as your enemies remaine within Asia. And when they be once departed (which my mind giueth mee to be shortly) he shall restore the same vnto you againe. The countrey of Bactria is yet vntouched, the Indians & Saccans be at your appointment, so many people, so many armyes, so many thousandes of horsemen and footmen haue their force in readinesse to renew this war againe. So that a much greater force remaineth then that which is consumed. Why doe we then like beastes wilfully run to a destruction that is not necessary? It is the propertie of such as be menne of courage, rather to despise death then hate the life, & oftentimes by wearines of trauaile, cowardes are driuen to take litle regarde of themselves. But vertue leaueth nothing vnpryoned, & death being the end of all things, it is sufficient if we go not to it like sluggards. Therefore if we shall go into Bactria, which is now our next refuge: lette vs for the times sake make Bessus king, who is already ruler of that countrey, and when the matters be once brought to some stay, he shall restore to you the Empire againe, as to the righteous king.

Although Darius perceiued not the greatnes of the mischief that laye hidden vnder his wicked

wicked wordes, yet it was no maruile though he could not abstaine: for hee turned towarde him, and said: Thou wilt slaye, hast thou now found out a time meele to disclose the treason which lyeth in thy hart? & then withall pulled out his sword to haue slaine him. If Bessus & the other Bactrians about him had not letted his purpose. These pretended to be sory for the matter, but minded in very deed to buyd him, if he had continued in his purpose. In the mean season Sabarjanes escaped away, and Bessus followed after, who immediately did separate the bandes they had charge of, from the rest of the armie, because they would vse them aparte to their purpose. When they were departed, Artabazus framed his talke according to the estate of the time then present, and began to pacifie Darius with words, putting him in remembrance, how his case was such, that it behoued him to beare quietly the foolishnes or rather the error of his olde men, for as much as Alexander was at hande ouer soe an enemy for them, though there were no discord nor disobedience. But if we shall be at variance (quoth hee) when he both pursue vs, our matters shall stand in very euill plight. Whereupon Darius inclined somewhat to Artabazus aduise, & though he was determined to remoue: yet because he perceiued euery man to be troubled in minde, remained still in the same place. But hee himselfe was so afflicted with sorrowe and desperation, that he kept himselfe

selfe close and came not forth of his pavilion :
 Whereupon the campe being without gouerne-
 ment, the heads not consulting together as they
 did before, there arose amongst them great di-
 uersitie of opinions, & motions of mind. Which
 thing when Patron sawe, that was Capitaine
 of the Greeke souldiers, he willed his menne to
 put on their armour, to bee in a readines to doe
 what they shall be appointed. The Persians
 encamped by themselves, and Bessus remained
 amongst the Bactrians, practising to cary away
 the Persians into Bactria, and to leaue Darius :
 signifying to them the riches of that Regiō,
 yet vntouched, and the perill they were in if
 they remained still. But they were all in maner
 of one opinion, y it was too great an offence for
 them to forsake their Prince. In the meane sea-
 son Artabazus executed the kinges office, and
 went amongst their lodgings, admonishing and
 exhorting them, sometimes aparte, and other-
 while altogether, and would neuer leaue them,
 before they would doe as the king would haue
 them. That done with great paine and difficul-
 tie, he perswaded Darius to take his meat, and
 to set his minde vpon his busines. But Bessus
 and Spabarzanes were so greedie to get the go-
 uernement into their handes, that they resolved
 to put in execution the thing they had long con-
 spired betwixt them. For so long as Darius
 was in sauegarde, they coulde not hope to com-
 passe nor attaine to so great power & aucthor-
 tie:

ty: the maiestie of a king is had in so great ve-
 neration amongst those nations: at whose one-
 lie name they assemble together, and the reue-
 rence vsed to them in theyr prosperitie, cause
 men to shew them the like obedience in aduer-
 sitie. The greatnes and power of the Coun-
 tries whereof, Bessus and Spabarzanes had the
 rule, not being inferior to anye other nations in
 that part of the world, either in men, in furni-
 ture, or largenes of their territory, gaue a great
 encourage vnto their wicked dispositions in at-
 tempting of this matter. For they possessing the
 third part of Asia, were able to make as great
 number of men, as Darius before had lost. In
 confidence whereof, they not onelie despised Da-
 rius, but Alexander himselfe, purposing when
 they were once become Lords of that Cuntrie,
 to reenforce from thence againe the power of
 the Empire, and maintaine the warres against
 the Macedons. When they had long deuised
 and debated these thinges, they determined to
 take Darius by the Bactrian souldiers, of whō
 they had the rule, and then to sende word to A-
 lexander that they reserued them alieue, to de-
 liuer him vnto his handes. And if so be that A-
 lexander should not accept their doing, (which
 in deede they doubted) then their purpose was
 to kill Darius, and with their power to flye in-
 to Bactria. But forsomuch as they saw that
 Darius could not be taken openlie, seeing there
 were so manie thousands readie to ayde him :
 and

and fearing also the fidelitie of the Greekes, determined to worke by sleighte the thing, that they could not bying to passe by force. Their devise was to counterfeyte a repentance of their former wronges, in excusing to the King the feare they were in. And in the meane season they sent certaine to practise with the Persians, and to proue their minds. The souldiers were tossed to and fro with hope and feare. Some tyme they thought that by leaving of their king they shoulde commit them-selues to manifeste ruine and destruction: and again they remembered what entertainment was promised them in Bactria that laye open for them, where they shoulde bee receyued with such gistes and riches as they coulde not well imagine. Whilst Wessus and Pabarzanes were beating of these thinges in their heades, Artabazus came vnto them, declaring howe Darius was well pacified, and that they mighte if they woulde, bee in the same estate and degree wyth hym that they were in before. Where-uppon they fell to weeping and purging of them-selues, requiring Artabazus that hee woulde take vpon him the defence of their cause, and carye their request and submissio vnto the kyng. The night was consumed in this kinde of busines. When it was daye Pabarzanes with the Bactrian souldiers stood at the entrie of the kynges lodgyng, colouring his priuie Treason wyth a selemayne pretence of doing his duetie.

Darius

Darius caused warning to bee giuen for his remoue, and so mounted vpon his chariot after his accustomed maner. Pabarzanes and the other traytors fell vpon the ground to worship him, and shed teares in token of repentance, notwithstanding that they determined shortly after to put him in fetters: mens nature is so apt to dissimulation. Darius being of a simple and gentle nature, was enforced through their behauiour not onely to beleue that they pretended, but also caused hym to weepe for ioye: yet that could not cause the traytours to alter their purpose, when they perceiued what kynde of manne, and what manner of Prince they wente about to deceiue. Darius doubting nothing of his perill y was next at hand, made all the haste he could to escape Alexander, whome he onelye doubted. Patron that was capitaine of the Grecians, commaunded his souldiers to put on their harnesse, which they caried before in trusses, and to bee readie and attende to euerie thing that shoulde bee appoynted them. For hee vnderstanding the Treason that Wessus wente about, followed the kynges Chariot, seeking occasion to speake with him. And Wessus doubting the same thing, would not depart from the Chariot, but followed rather as a watch, then a wayter. Patron therefore hauing tarried long, and interrupted oftentimes as he was about to speake, stood in a staye betwixt feare and fidelitie, beholding the king in the face.

When

When Darius perceined that he beheld him after that manner, he willed Eubace his Eunuche that rode next him, to enquire of Patron if he had anie thing to saie to him. Patron said yea: but his matter was such as he woulde no man should heare. Then he was willed to come neare, and without anie interpretour (Darius vnderstanding somewhat of the Greeke tongue) Patron said vnto him.

By of fiftie thousand Grekes that serued you, there is a small number of vs remayning, which haue continuallie followed you in all fortunes, bearing vnto you the same fidelitie and affection that we did in your most flourishing estate. And are determined wheresoeuer you be, to take that for our Countrie and home: both prosperitie and aduersitie hath so coupled vs together. By which inuincible fidelitie that is in vs, I desire you, and require you, that you would vouchsafe to lodge within our campe, & suffer vs to be the guard of your person. We haue lost Greece, we haue no Bactria to goe vnto, all our hope is in you, and God grant that all othermen had the like. It is not necessarie I should speake anie more, nor would not demaunde the custodie of your person being an alpen and a stranger, if I knewe that others were well minded towards you.

Although Bessus was ignorant of y^e Greeke tongue, yet his conscience pricked him to beleue that Patron had disclosed some such matter, and therefore carrying alway some parte of his words, by a Greeke interpretour, became out of doubt. Darius nothing afraid as it appeared by his countenance, enquired of Patro what moued him to giue him such aduice? Whereupon he thought good not to differre it any

any longer, but saide: Bessus and Pabarzanes worke treason against you, so that your life and your estate stand in extreme perill, and this day shalbe the last eyther to the traytors, or to you. Whose words if Darius had well weighed and regarded, Patron had receyued great gloire of the preservation of his Prince. But lette them mocke that list, which be perswaded that y^e state of man is gouerned at aduenture and by chaunce but I beleue that euery man runneth his race by an immutable order, and an euerlasting appointment, by a knitting together of causes vnkowne appointed long before. Darius answer was: that although the fidelitie of the Greeke souldiers was sufficiently knowne vnto hym, yet he was determined neuer to departe fro his owne nation, by whom though he might be deceiued, yet it was harde for him to mistrust the: whatsoeuer should chaunce to him, he saide, he was minded rather to suffer it among his elen subjects, then to part away from them, not desiring to liue, if his owne souldiers desired not his sauegarde. Whereupon Patron despyring of the kinges well doing, returned them of whom he had the charge, ready to aduenture any thing for his sake. Bessus in the meane season had vtterly determined to slea Darius, but fearing y^e he could not winne Alexanders fauor except hee deliuered his enemy into his handes aliue, deferred his purpose to the night folowing. In the meane season he came to Darius, and gaue him

P.

thanks

thanks, that he had so warily & with such wise-
dome auoided the treason of that false Grecian,
who being corrupted by Alexander, sought no-
thing but holwe to make a present of his heade:
whereat (he saide) he could not marueile, that a
Mercenary man should leaue any thing vndon
for money, being without any pledge of his ho-
nestie, without house & home, banished out of
world, a faint friend, and a doubtfull enemy, fol-
led here & there at the backe of all men, that wil
corrupt him. And then he fell to purging of him-
selfe, calling the Gods of his countrey to witnes
of his innocencie in the matter. Darius by hys
countenance seemed to beleue: yet hee doubted
not of the truth of the tale that Patron had told
him: but he was come to such a point, that it
was as dangerous for him not to beleue hys
owne men, as to be deteined. There were xxx.
thousand, whose lightnes was feared to haue
consented to this conspiracie: and Patron had
but foure thousand, to whom if he had commit-
ted his sauegarde, & thereby condemned the fide-
litie of his owne nation, he saue that then they
might haue had thereof a goodly colour and a
pretence to perfoyme the thing that they wente
about, and therefore chose rather to be killed in-
nocently, then to giue any occasion whereby he
should seeme to haue deserved death. And yet
when Bessus purged himselfe, he answered: y
he knew there was no lesse iustice in Alexander
then manhood, and that they were deceiued that

looked

looked for any reward of treason at his handes,
knowing there was no sozer punisher nor reue-
ger of the breach of fidelitie. When the nighte
drew neere, the Persians after their accus-
omed maner put off their armour, and repaired
to the next villages to prouide thinges necessa-
ry. But the Bactrians (as Bessus had comman-
ded them) stood still armed. In the meane season
Darius had sente for Artabazus, & shewed hym
what Patron had declared. Whereupon Artab-
azus made no doubt, but that he should streight-
waies commit himselfe amongst the Grekes,
thinking that the Persians when the kings pe-
ril should be published abroad, would ioin with
them. Yet Darius predestinate to his chance,
could not beare then any wholesome counsaile,
nor sought for any helpe in that case, but em-
braced Artabazus as though hee should neuer
see him more, and being wette with the teares
that one of them let fall vpon an other, caused
Artabazus to be remoued from him, & because
hee would not see his sorrowe in departing from
him, he couered his face, and fell flatte vpon the
ground. When such as were accustomed to the
garde of his person, which should haue bene
his defence in all perilles, fledde away, thinking
them-selues ouer weake for such a number of
armed men as they supposed to bee commyn-
g. Then there was great solitarines within hys
lodging: for none remained about the king, but
a fewe Eunuches, that had no place to re-
pare

P. y.

paire

paire vnto. When he debated and deuised wyth himselfe alone, sometime one thing, and sometime another: and by and by he wared wearye of that solitarines which befoze hee tooke for a comfort, and called Bubace vnto him, whom he beheld and saide.

So prouide for your selues, which according to your dueties haue been true to your prince til the last houre. Here I doe tary for the fatall law of my destinie. Peraduenture ye do marueyle that I do not end mine own life. I had rather die thzough other mens wickednesse, then by mine owne.

After those wordes, Bubace filled both the kinges lodging, and also the whole campe wyth mourning and lamentation, and diuers brake into the place where Darius was, and tearing their clothes, bewailed his case with a great lamentation. When the crye came vnto the Persians, they were so amased for feare, that they durst neither put on their armour, least they might giue occasion to the Bactrians to set vpon them, nor they could not remaine quiet, least they might seem so wickedly to leaue their king. There were clamors thzoughout the campe of diuers sortes and tunes, without any head, and without any appointment. Such as pertained to Nabarzanes and Bessus, decciued by such lamentation as they heard, brought tydings to the rest, that the King had killed himselfe. Whereupon they repaired thither so fast as they could gallop, and such followed after as they had chosen to be ministers of their mischiefe. When they were

were entered into the kinges pauilion, because the Eunuches declared that he was aliue, they commaunded him to be bound. Thus he which befoze was caried in a Chariot, and honored of his men like a God, was made prisoner by his owne seruants without any fozeine power, & put into a vyle Cart couered ouer with beastes skinnes: and spoyle was made of the kinges stuffe, in such sort, as if it had bene taken in the warres. And when they had laden themselues with the pray gottē after so foule a maner, they conueyed themselues into their countreys. But Artabasus with those of whō he had the charge and with the Grecke souldiers, tooke the waye towards Parthina, thinking to be moze sure any where, then in the fellowship of those traitors. The Persians whō Bessus had burdened with so many faire promises, specially because they had no other man to followe, ioyned themselves to the Bactrians, and the third day ouertoke them. But to the intent Darius should not want such honour as was due vnto his estate, Bessus caused him to be bound with golden fetters: suche were the despites that his Fortune made him subiect vnto. And for that he shoulde not be knowne by his apparell, they couered the cart with foule hydes of beastes, and caused vnkowne men to driue it forwarde. And least by enquiry in y army he might be discouered, such as had the charge of him followed a farre off.

When Alexander heard that Darius was removed

moued to Echatane, he lefte the way that hee was in, and with all the speede that he coulde make, followed after Darius that was saide to be gone into Medea. But when Alexander was come to Taba, which is the chiefe Citie of Parataceu, it was there shewed him by fugitiues that came out of Darius campe, howe he was fled with all speed into Bactria. And afterwards vnderstood the matter moze certainly by Magistenes of Babylon, who could not affirme directly that Darius was vsed as a prisoner, but declared that either he was in daunger of death or of captiuitie. Alexander vpon those newes called his Capitaines together, and shewed them that hee had a great enterpryse, but such one as the trauaile was very short. Darius (he saide) was not farre off, forsaken of his owne menne, and either taken as a prisoner or els slain. In whose person he shewed the whole victorie to consist, & the greatnes of the matter to be a reward sufficient of their haste making. They all cried with one voice that they were readye to followe him where he would go, and that he should not spare their labour nor their perill, whereupon he conueied his army forwarde with maruelous speed rather in post, then after the common order of marching, neither resting day nor night, til they had passed LXX. furlongs, & come to the village where Darius was taken. Where Helon Darius interdictor, who by reason of his sickenes could not followe the army, was taken through

Alexander

Alexanders celeritie, who feyning that he fledde away from his maister, declared the whole matter: but howe great soeuer his desire was to overtake his enemies, it was necessary for him to giue his men rest of their trauaile: so y determining to leaue the rest of his army behind, did chose out sixe M. horsemen, and added to them thre C. called Dimichas that were footemen, heauy harnessed, but yet riding on horsebacke, and when the matter and place required, lighted and fought on foote. When Alexander was taking order about these thinges: Mysellus and Githracenes, which for the hatred they bare to Bessus for his treason, fledde from him, declaring to the king that the Persians were but fife C. furlonges off, and proffered to guide hym by a nerer way. Their comming was gratefull to the king: for by their conduction in the beginning of the night, he tooke his iourney with such horsemen as he had appointed, willing his foote battaile to followe after with all speede possible. Hee marched forwarde in a square battaile, and kepte such an order, that he first might ioyne with the last, and such as came behind relieued them that went before. When they had passed CCC. furlongs on their way, Mreculus the son of Bazeus, that sometime had bene gouernour of Siria, mette Alexander, and declared that Bessus was within twoo hundred furlonges, marching with his men out of all order, as one that dyd caste no doubt. It seemed to him (he saide)

M. iij.

saide)

said) that they went towards Hircania: wherefore if haste were made, they might soone bee overtaken, and disperckled heere and there out of all aray. And by reason he affirmed that Darius was also yet aliue: Alexander that was hot before in his pursuit, was with his words much more pricked forwards, so that he caused them to put spurres to their horses, & passed forwards a gallop, going so farre forth, that they mighte heare the noise of their enemies as they marched. But the dust y^e arose dimmed their sight: and therefore he stayed a while till the dust was banished away. When both Bessus perceyued the Macedons, and they saue the Persians as they fledde. Notwithstanding they had not been able to haue matched with them, if Bessus had had as great courage to fight, as he had to betray his maister. For besides that they exceeded the Macedons in number and power, they foreweariied and sore traueyled, should haue had to doe wyth them that were lusty and fresh. But the name of Alexander and his fame, which is of great moment euer in the warres, put them in such fear, that they coult not stay themselves. When Bessus, and other that were partners of the conspiracie, came to the cart where Darius was, and perswaded hym to leape on horsebacke, and flye from his enemies that were at hande. But he crying out that the Gods were come to hys reuenge, and calling for the assistance of Alexander, saide: that in no wyse hee would goe wyth

tray-

toes: wherewith they were so stirred to wrath that they threwe darts at him, and leste him wounded in manye places of his bodye. They thrust in the beastes that drew the cart, to the intent they should not be able to passe forwards and slewe his two seruantes that did wayte vpon him. When they had committed this acte, they thought it expedient to disperse themselves in their flying. And so Nabarzanes tooke hys way to Hircania, and Bessus to Bactria, with a fewe horsemen that eche of them had in their companye. When their souldiours were forsaken of their Capitaines: they scattered heere and there, where hope and feare did lead them. There were onelye fye hundred horsemen, which assembled themselves together, and stood in a manmerring whether it were better to resist or to flye. Alexander vnderstanding the feare his enemies were in, sent Picanoz before wyth part of his horsemen to keepe them occupied, and he with the rest folloved after. There were slaine to the number of thre thousand of suche as stood at their defence, and the rest were dyuen in flockes like beastes: from killing of whō Alexander commaunded his men to absteyne. Amongst all the prisoners there was none that was able to shewe the Cart that caryed Darius: for euery one was so desirous to finde hym, that as they saue anye Carte, they sought hym therein: and yet they could perceiue by no meanes where hee was become. Alexander made

such

such haste, that scarcely three thousand horsemen followed him of all his number: but the greater number of the Persians fell into their laps that followed behind. It is scarcely credible to be believed, that there should be more prisoners taken, then there was men to take them. But fortune in that feare had so taken away their sense, that they could not consider their owne multitude, nor the small number of their enemies. In the meane season the beasts that drew Darius wagon, hauing no man to gouerne them, were swarued out of the high way, and wandering here & there, had drawne Darius foure furlongs from the place where he was wounded, into a valley where they fainted, by reason of their heate and their hurtes. There was a spring at hande, which certeine that knewe the countrey had shewed to Polystratus a Macedon, y^e was overcome for thirst. And whilest he was drinking water out of his helmet, he spied the beasts that were thrust in with dartes, and maruelling that they were not rather caried away, then hurte after that manner: hee looked, and founde in the soule carte the bedye of a manne halfe aliue, and at length perceyued it was Darius that laye there sore wounded, and drawing of hys breath. When Polystratus brought to hym a Persian whome he had taken prisoner. Whome when Darius knewe by his voyce to be of his countrey, he saide: that he tooke it for a comfort of his present fortune, that he shoulde

speake

speake before he dyed to one that vnderstode hym, and not utter hys laste wordes in vayne. He required him to declare vnto Alexander, That though hee had neuer deserued any thing at hys handes, yet it was his chaunce to die greatly by behauiour, and had thanks to giue him for the fauour and goodnesse that he had shewed towards his mother, hys wife, and his children, to whome he had not onely granted life, but also the reuerence of their former estate and dignitie, whereas hee of his kinne and freendes, to whome hee had giuen both life and landes, was nowe by them bereaued of all. Hee prayed therefore that hee might alwaies be victor, and that the Empire of the whole world might come into his handes, requiring that hee woulde not neglecte to take vengeance of so foule an acte, not onely for his cause, but for example and the loue of other Princes: which shoulde be a thing honourable vnto him, and profitable in time coming.

When he had spoken these words, he fainted & calling for water, after he had dronke, saide to Polystratus that presented it vnto him.

Whatsoeuer thou art, this is vnto me the last misery in all my aduerser chance, that I am not able to requite thee this benefite. But Alexander shall rewarde thee, and the Gods shall requite him for his great humane and clementie shewed towards myne. Vnto whom in my behalf thou shalt giue my hande as a pledge of a kinges promise.

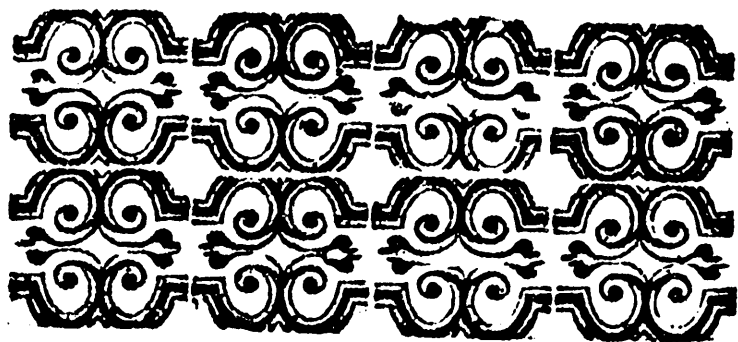
And hauing spoken these wordes, and giuen Polystratus his hand, he died. Wher his sayings were reported to Alexander, he repaired where the dead corps lay, & there bewailed with tears that it was his chaunce to dy a death so vnbefitting for so great an estate, and taking of his owne cloke to couer the dead corpses withall, adored

ned

The fifth booke

ned the the same with all things that pertayned to a king, and sent it to his mother **Sisigambis** to be buried, in such sort as the countrey maner was to bury kings, and to be laide amongst the reste of hys predecessors.

¶ Here the first part of the sixt booke doth want wherein was contened the cause of the warre betwixt the Lacedemonians and Macedons : with the preparation of both nations to the battaile that was fought betwixt Antipater Alexanders Lieutenatn in Macedonia, and the king of the Lacedemonians.



THE SIXT BOOKE OF QVINTUS Curtius of the Actes of the great Alexander, King of Macedonia.



¶ He pressed forwardes where the fight was most dangerous, and seeing such as made most resistance, put the greater parte of his enemies to flight. Then such as were victors before began to flie, till they had drawne their enemies greedily following them, out of the streight into a more playne ground. In the retire many of the were slaine : but when they had once recovered such a ground whereas they might stay and sal in order, the battailes ioyned equally againe on both sides. Amongst them al the king of the Lacedemonians appeared most notable in al mens eyes, not so much by the beautie of his armour and godly personage, as through the greatnesse of his courage, wherein onely he could not be overcome. Hee was laide to on all partes, both nere hande, and a farre off. Yet for all that, hee endured long in Armes against his enemies, avoyding their strokes part with his target, and part with his bodie, till such time as hee was thrust through both thighes with a speare, where by

by great effusion of bloud he was not able any longer to endure the fight: When the esquiers for his body toke him vp vpon his Target, and caried him into their campe, that with great paine endured the stirring of his woundes. The Lacedemonians for all their kinges departure gaue not ouer the fight, but as soon as they could recouer any ground of aduantage, they closed themselves in battaile together, and receiued stoutly their enemies that came full vpon them. Where is not found in any memorie, of a battell more vehemently fought then that, where the armies of two nations that were most excellent in the warres contended together for the victorie, not enclining to anye parte. The Lacedemonians called to mind their auncient manhood and prowesse, and the Macedons considered their presente estimation they had in the world: the Lacedemonians strived for libertie, and the Macedons for the souereignty. The one party lacked a Capitaine, and the other roume to fight in. The manifold adventures & chaunces that fell that daye, increased both the hope and feare of both parties: Fortune as it were of purpose bringing such valiaunt men to fight together, neyther of them preuayling vpon other. But the streightnes of the place wherein they fought, did not suffer them to ioyne with their whole force at once: for more were beholders then fighters, and such as stood without daunger, encouraged the other with their

crie.

crie. At length the Lacedemonians beganne to faynt, and scarcely able for sweating to sustaine their armour, beganne to drawe backe to haue the more libertie to fly from their enemies that pleased sore vpon them. When they were once broken and scattered abroad, the victours pursued after. And passing the place wher vpon the Lacedemonians battaile was firste arrainged, made a sore pursuite vpon Agis: who seeing his men flying, and his enemies approach at hand, willed his men to set him down: where stretching himselfe, to feele if the force of his bodie could aunswere vnto his hart. When he founde himselfe vnable to stande, remaining vpon his knees hee put on his helmet, and couering his bodie with his Target, shaked his speare, and prouoked his enemies to draw neere if any were desirous of the spoile: but ther was not one that pressed neere him, but did cast darts a farre off, which hee alwaies toke and threw at his enemies againe, till such time as he was thrust into the bare brest with a speare. But when the same was pulled out of the wound, he faynted, and bowing himselfe vpon his target, shortly after fell downe deade, bloud and lyfe sayling bothe together. There were slaine of the Lacedemonians, fife thousandes, three hundred and forty: of the Macedons not passing three hundred. But there was scarcely any of them that escaped unholmd. This victorie brake the hearts, not onely of the Lacedemonians and

of

of their confederates, but also of other which lay in wayte looking for the successe of that warre. Antipater was not ignoraunt howe the countenances of such as did gratify his victorie, differed much from the intentes of their harts: but desirous to finish the warres that was begunne perceiued it necessary for him to dissemble, and suffer himselfe to be deceiued. And though he reioiced much in the fortune of the thing, yet hee feared the enuy that might ensue thereof being a greater matter then the estate of a lieutenant did beare. For Alexander was of such a nature, that he desired that his enemies had wonne the victorie: shewing manifestly that he was not contented with Antipaters good successe: thinking that what honour soeuer chaunced to any other man, was a derogation to his owne glory. Antipater therefore which knewe full well his stomacke, durst not vse the victorie according to his own wil, but assembled a counsell of Greeks to aduise what they thought expedient. The Lacedemonians made no other request, but y they might send embassadors vnto Alexander, which vpon their repaire to him, and their suite made obtained a generall pardon for all men, sauing for such as were the authours of the rebellion. The Megapolitans, whose Citie did abyde the siege, were compelled to pay as a fine for their rebellion xx. talents to the Athenians, and the Aetolians. This was the end of the war, which being sodeinly begun, was ended before that Alexander

Alexander had ouerthrowne Darius at Arbella. As soon as his minde was deliuered of those present cares, as one that could beare better the warres then quietnes, hee gaue himselfe all to pleasures, by the vices whereof hee was overcome, whome no power of the Persians, or any other was able to subdue. He was giuen to banquetting out of season, and to a sode delight of drinke, and watching in playes among flocks of Concubines, that drew him into straunge maners and customes. Which he following as thinges better then his countrey vsages, offended thereby greatly both the eyes and the harts of his nation, and caused manye that loued hym before entirely, to hate him then as an enemy. For the Macedons that were obstinate in keeping their owne discipline, and accustomed not to be curious, but so scarce in their diet as might suffice nature, when they sawe him go about to bring in amongst them the vices of those nations which they had subdued: conspiracies then began to be made against him, mutinie rose amongst the souldiers, and euerie one complaining to another, frely vttered their griefs, whereby he was prouoked to wrath, to suspicion, and sodeine feare, diuers other inconueniences ensuing thereupon, which shall be declared hereafter. Alexander being giuen as it hath been said before to vreasonable banquetting, wherein he consumed both day and night: when he was satisfied of eating and drinke, passed over the

time with playes and pastimes. And not contented with such Musicians as he brought out of Greece, caused the women that were captiue, to sing before him such songes as abhorred y^e eares of the Macedons not accustomed to heare such thinges. Amongst those women Alexander spyed one more sadde then the rest, which wyth a certein shamefastnes did strue wth them that brought her forth. She was of excellent beautie, and through her shamefastnes her beautie was augmented. Because she did cast her eyes towarde the earth, couering her face so much as she might: gaue suspicion for him to thynke that she was come of greater nobilitie, then y^e she ought to be brought in such kinde of pastimes. And therefore being demaunded what she was: she shewed her selfe to be the P^{er}ce of D^{ar}chus, that lately reigned in Persia, and the wife of Histaspis, which was Darius kinsman, and had bene his Lieutenant ouer great armyes. There yet remained in the kinges heart some small sparkes of his former vertue. For in respect of her estate, being come of a Kinges blood, and the reuerence he bare to such a name, as y^e P^{er}ce of D^{ar}chus, commaunded her not onely to be set free, but also to be restored to her goods and her husband, whom he willed to bee sought out. The nexte day hee appoynted Ephestion to bring all the prisoners vnto the court, where enuyzing of the nobilitie of euery one, commaunded them which were descended of noble blood

to

to be seuered from the reste, amongst whome they founde Oratres brother to Darius, y^e was no lesse noble of mind then of blood. There was made of the laste spoile xxvj. thousand talentes, wherof xij. thousand were consumed in rewards amongst the men of warre: and the summe amounted to no lesse value that was conueied away by them that had the keeping therof. There was one Oridates a noble man of Persia, that was put in prison by Darius, and appointed to suffer death, whome Alexander deliuered, and gaue vnto him the seignorie of Medea, and receiued Darius brother amongst the number of his frendes, reseruing to him all the accustomed honoz of his Nobilitie. When they came to the countrey of Parthenia, then heeing but obscure and vnknowne: but now the head of all these countreys which lye vpon Tigris & Euphrates, and be bounded with the red sea. This countrie being fruitful and abundant of all things, was taken by the Scythians, which possessing parte of Asia and Europe, be troublesome neighbours to them both. The Scythians which inhabite vpon the Bospheron sea, are ascribed to be in Asia. And such as be in Europe possesse the countreys lying on the left side of Thrace, so far as Boreithenes: and from thence right forth so far as the Riuer Thanaïs, y^e parteth Europe & Asia. It is certeine that the Scithes, of whome the Persians bee descended, came not from Bospheron, but out of Europe. There was a

D.g.

noble

The sixt booke

noble Citie in those daies, called Hecatomphistos, builded by the Grækes, where Alexander remained with his army, conueighing vitayles thither from all partes. Amongst the souldiers lying there in idlenesse, there rose sodeinly a rumour, entred into their heads without any certeine authour or beginning. The rumour was, how that Alexander satisfied with the acts that he had done, purposed immediately to retourne into Macedon. This fame was not so soon solow abroad, but that they ranne like madde men to their lodgings, and trussed vp their baggage & their stuffe: making such preparation to depart that euery man iudged warning had bene giuen to remoue, & that the thing had bene done by appointment. The tumult that did rise in y^e campe by loding of cariages, and by the calling the one made vnto another, came vnto y^e kinges eares. This rumour obtained the sooner credit by the dispatch of certeine Græke souldiers, whom Alexander had dismissed into their cuntry, with the gift of sixe thousand deniers to euery horseman: thereupon taking occasion to thinke that the warre was at an ende. Alexander, whose purpose was to passe into India, and the vttermost boundes of the Orient, was no lesse afraid of this matter, then the case required. And therefore calling before him the Captaines of his army, with the teares in his eyes made a greate complaint vnto them: that in the middle course of his glozie he should thus be pulled backe, and

compelled to retourne into his countrey rather as a man vanquished then as a victozer. Which misfortune (he saide) he coulde not impute to his souldiers, nor iudge that their cowardnes did giue impediment to his proceedings, but y^e it was onely the enuye of the Gods, that put so sodeine a desire of their countrey into y^e mindes of valiaunt men, which within a while shoulde haue retourned with greater glozie and fame. Thereupon they all promised to trauell in reformation of the matter, offering them-selues in all thinges (were they neuer so difficult) to doe as he would haue them. And they promised also the obedience of the souldiers, if so bee that he would make some gentle and apt oration to pacifie them: which were neuer yet sene to depart from him in any desperation or disturbance of mind, if they once behelde the cherefulness of his countenance, & the courage proceeding from his hart. He promised so to do, & required at their hand to prepare in the multitude an aptnes to giue him eare. When all thinges were prepared which were thought expedient for the purpose, he assembled all his army together, & made this Oration vnto them.

When ye consider (my souldiers) the greatnes of the actes which ye haue don, and the manifold conquests that ye haue made, it is no marueile at all that yee bee enclined to quietnes, and fully satisfied with fame and glozie. For leauing to speake of the Illirians, & Triballes, of Boetia, Thracia, and Sparta, of the Acheians, and Peloponnesians, whome I haue subdued, part in person, and the reste by appointment: I will not

D.ij.

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The sixt booke

make reherfall of the warre we began at Helespont, & how we deliuered from the intollerable seruitude of barbarian nations Jonas, & Neolides, & got vnto our possession both Caria, Lideia, Capadocia, Phrygia, Paphlagonia, Pamphilia, Pisides, Cilicia, Siria, Phenices, Armenia, Persie, Medie, & Parthenia. We haue gotten more countries then other haue taken cities, & yet I am sure the multitude hath caued me to leaue some of them vnrehearsed. If I could thinke that the possession of these lands that we haue conquered in so short time could remaine sure vnto vs: then (my souldiers) I would, though it were against your willes, breake from you to visite my house & my home, to see my mother, my sisters, and my cuntry men, to enioy there the laud & glorie that I haue gotten with you, whereas the ioyfull conuersation of our swines, our children and parents, peace, quietnes, and a sure possession of things gotten through our valiantnes do tary for vs, as large rewardes of our victorie. But if we will confesse the truth, this newe Empire which we haue not yet at commandement, but is kept as it were by way of entreatie doth require a time, that this stiffe necked people may learne to beare our yoke, and by framing their dispositions to a more humanitie, bring their cruel nature to a more ciuill conuersation. Doe we not see that the colne in the field asketh a time for his ryping, & though the same be without sence, yet hath it his course to be brought to perfection. Doe you beleue that so manye Nations not agreeing with vs in Religion, in custom nor in vse of tongue, accustomed to the Empire and name of an other man, will bee conquered and brought to subiection with the winning of one battayle? No, trust mee, they be kept vnder with the feare of our power, and do not obey vs of their owne good wylles. And they which shewe you obedience when pee be here amongst them, when you be absent will be your enemies. You must thinke that you haue to do with wyld beastes, which being ferce of nature when they be first taken, must bee shutte vp, and tamed with tyme. Hitherto I haue reasoned with you as though we had conquered the whole Dominion that perteyned to Darius, which is nothing so.

For

For Nabarzanes possesseth Hyrcania, and the traytoure Belus not onely enioyeth Bactria, but also theate-
neth vs. The Sogdians, Dahans, Mailagetes, Sargans, and the Indians, remaine yet in their owne libertie and iurisdiction, which shall not see our backes so soon turned, but they wyll followe vs in the tails. They all haue a certeyne frendshippe and amitie one wyth another: but we be all straungers and forreyners vnto them. There is no creature, but that wyll more gladly be obedient to Rulers of his owne Nation, then to forreyners, be their government neuer so terrible. We are driuen of necessitie therfore to winne that we haue not, or els to lose that we haue already gotten. As Whistons in sicke bodyes will leaue no humour that may hurte: so lykewile we must cutte away whatsoeuer shall be impediment vnto our Empire. Haue you not seen great fires risen of smal sparks not regarded? We maye not neglect any thing in our enemies: whom the more we despise, the more strong we make them. And because you shall not thinke yet such an impossibility for Belus to make himself king, where as a kyng wanteth, you shall vnderstand that Darius came not to his Empire by inheritance, but got into the seate of Cyrus, by the benefite of Bagoas his Eunuch. We commit an heynous offence (my souldiers) if we make warre agaynst Darius, and put hym downe, for the intente to giue his kyngdome vnto his seruant, yea, and to such a one as attempted so vyle an acte agaynst his maister, at suche a tyme as hee had moste neede of helpe, and whome we being his enemies woulde haue spared: hee beeyng his subiect, put hym in cheynes as a captiue, and finally shewe hym because hee shoulde not be preserued by vs. Shall you suffer this kynde of manne to reigne? No let vs make all the speed we may to see him crucified, and so to shewe to all kinges and Nations a Justice done vppon one, that so hildly falsified his faith. If the reporte shoulde come vnto you being in your owne Countreyes, that the same man were bestraying of the Grecke Cittie about Helespont: O G D D howe soerie would you be then, and howe much would you lamente that Belus shoulde enioy that you haue

Q. iii.

The sixt booke

haue gotten, and vsurpe the rewardes of your victorie. Then would you make hast to recouer your owne, that would you bend your selues to the warres. But howe much better is it now to oppresse him whilst he remaineth in such feare, and is vncertaine which way to take: Shall we spare to spend foure daies iourney to come to him, that haue ouertroden such snowes, that haue passed so many riuers, that haue climbed so many mountaines: to whose iourney the flowing sea coulde be no impediment, nor the streight of Cilicia coulde shut by our way: Nowe all thinges are made playne and open, and wee stande in the entry of our victorie. There bee but a fewe fugitiues & killers of their maiesties that do remaine. What moze notable worke can you leaue vnto your posteritie, to bee registred by same vnto your glorie, then to reuenge such as were traitours to Darius: You shall thereby shew that when you were enemies vnto him, yet your hatred ended with his death, and that no wicked man could escape your handes. Which thing if you bring to passe, howe much moze obedient do you thing the Persians shal be vnto you, when they perceyue you to take iust warres in hand, & that it was not Belshus name wherewith ye were offended: but with his faults and euil doings.

His Oracion was receiued of the Souldiers with such gladnes, that they streight way desired him to cary them whither he would. And he that coulde vse the occasion of their good mood, passed through Parthenia, and came to y^e boundes of Hircania, leauing Craterus with the bande, whereof he had the rule, & sixe thousand horsemen, of whome Amintas had the charge, with the like number of Archers, to defende Parthenia from the incursion of the barbarous nations. He appointed Erigonus a small power to attende vppon his cariages: willing him to passe with them through the plaine countrey, and he

of Quintus Curtius.

Y I 2

himselfe with his footmen, and with the reste of his horsemen, marched forwarde, a hundred & fiftie furlonges, and encamped in a balley at the entry of Hircania. In the same place bee great wooddes full of high and thicke trees, & the bottom of the balley is very fruitfull, by reason of the springs that come forth of the rockes. Out of the foote of the mountaines there riseth a Riuer called Zioberis, which within iij. furlonges of the heade, is deuided by a rocke, standing in the middelt of the streame, causing the water to go two sundry wayes: Which afterwards comming againe into one channell, runneth moze violently then befoze, by reason of y^e fall from the rockes. And sodainly it sinketh into the ground, and so runneth hidden by the space of thre hundred furlonges, and then commeth forth againe, as it were out of a new spring, being then in bredth thirtene furlonges, and as it runneth forwards, draweth moze narrowe, and falleth into an other streame, named Rhydago. The inhabitants of the countrey affirmed that all thinges caste in where the streame sunke into the ground, would appeere and come out againe at the next issue. For the prouing of which conclusion, Alexander caused two Bulles to be cast in, where the water entered, whose bodies were founde by such as were appointed for the purpose, where the streame brake out againe. In this place he refreshed his army foure daies: during which time Nabarzanes (which was confederate

conferate with Bessus in killing of the king) did write letters to him in effect,

How that he was no enemy vnto Darius, but counsailed him euer to do such thinges as he iudged most profitable: and for his faithfull counsaile was put in daunger of his life by him, who went about against all reason to comit the custody of his person to straungers, condemning thereby the fidelitie of his owne nation, which they had kepte vnsported towarde their kinges the space of Cxxx. yeeres: Therefore seeing himselfe in that perill and daunger, hee tooke counsaile of his present necessities. And alledged that it was alwayes admitted lawfull for a manne to kill such a one whome he knewe to conspire his death, which was an excuse (he said) wherewith Darius satisfied the people, when he had slain Bagoas. He alleged that nothing was more deere to mortall creatures then life, for the loue whereof he was dyuen to this extremitie, in committing an acte which necessitie rather compelled him to do, then his owne disposition. For in a general calamitie euery man hath his fortune. If hee woulde commaund him to come to his presence, hee sayde, hee would not refuse to do it: for he could not feare that so great a king would vpolate his promise, seeing one God is not wont to deceiue another. But if he should seeme vnto him to whome hee would giue his assurance, there were many countreyes for him to flie vnto. For all men hauing vertue in them, count alwaies that for their countrey, where they make their dwelling place.

Alexander made no stay to giue him his faith after such sorte as the Persians vsed to receiue promise: which was, safely to come and go. Notwithstanding hee marched in order of battaile, sending ouer fronts before to discouer y ground. The light armed were appoynted for the vanguard: the Whalans followed after, and the baggage behinde. For by reason the same was a

war

warlike nation, and the countrey hard to enter vpon: it caused the king to looke earnestly vpon the matter. The same valley stretcheth out to the Caspian sea, the bankes thereof resembling the hornes of the Horne before it cometh to y full, the Sea lying betwixt them like a greete Bay. Vpon the lefte hande the people inhabite that be called Cercetes, which lie open towarde the North, and vpon the other part the Leucissians, Mossynes, & Chalibes, & the plains of the Amazons lye towarde the West. This Sea which some call the Caspian, and some the Scythian sea, being more sweete then any other, bringeth forth Serpentes of a wonderfull bignes, and fishes differing in colour much from all the rest. There be diuers of opinion that y lake of Meotis should run into this sea, which they coniecture of the water, thinking the same to receiue his sweetenes of the lake. Towardes the North the Sea groweth into a flatte shore, and putteth forth his waters farre vpon the land, which rising high make many meares and places. And as by certeine course of the Planets they flowe out, so at a certeine time by an ebbe, they retourne in againe, restoring the ground to his former estate. Some heloue those waters to be no parcell of the Caspian Sea, but y they come out of India, and runne into Hyrcania, which lyeth lower in the foresaide valley. The king being remoued from that place, marched forwarde twentie furlonges in a wilde deserte way

way, where great wooddes hong continually ouer their heades, and brookes of water and mire gaue great impediment to their iourney. But at length without any impediment of his enemies, he passed those difficulties, and came vnto a more faire countrey: wherein besides other victuals (whereof it did abounde) grewe great plentie of apples, and the ground was very apte for bynes. There were also plenty of a certeine kind of trees much like vnto oaks, whose leaues were couered with hony, which the inhabitants gather before the sunne rising: for els the moisture would be dzyed vp with the heate. When Alexander had passed xxx. furlonges more forwarde, Phzaphernes met him, yelding both himselfe, and such other as fledde after Darius death, whom he receiued gently, and came to a towne called Aricas. Whither came Craterus and Crigonus, bringing with them Phzadates that had the rule of y^e Tapurians: whose friendly receiuing and gentle enterteinment was the cause that many followed his example, in committing themselves to Alexanders mercie. Menape was there made Prince of Hircania: who being a banished man in the time of Dcchus, came to king Philip for refuge: and Phzadates also was restozed to the office hee had before. When Alexander was come to the vttermost boundes of Hircania: Artabasus whom we declared to shewe himselfe alway to his maister, met Alexander with Darius kinsmen and children,

men, and with a smal band of Greeke souldiers. The king at his comming proffered him hys hande, because he had bene entertained before by king Philip, when he was banished by Dcchus: but the chiefe cause that he accepted him so well, was for the continuall fidelitie that hee obserued towarde his Prince. He being thus gently receiued by Alexander, said vnto him:

Sir, long may you flourish & reigne in perpetuall felicitie. I that reioice in all other thinges, with one ambition chiefly grieued, that by reason of mine olde age, I shall not be able long to enioy your goodnes, he was fourscore and five yeres of age, and brought with him nine sonnes borne of one mother, whome he presented before the king, praying God to continue their liues so long as their seruice might be acceptable vnto him.

Alexander was accustomed much to walke on foote, but then least the olde man might be ashamed to ryde, he going on foote, called for horses for them both. When he was encamped, hee sente for the Greekes that Artabasus brought. But they made request first that he would giue assurance to the Lacedemonians that were amongst them, or els they would take aduise amongst themselves what were best to do: The same were the Embassadors that the Lacedemonians had sent vnto Darius: which after the battell, ioyned themselves to the Greekes that were in Darius wages. The king willed them to leaue all assurances and compositions, & come to receiue such appointment as he would giue them. They stode long in a stay, varying in opinions;

nious : but at length they agreed so to doe : Saving Democrates of Athens, which chiefly had ever oppugned the successe of the Macedons, who despairing of pardon slew himselfe. But the other, as they had determined, submitted themselves to Alexanders will, being x. D. v. C. in number, besides fourescore and ten of such as were sente Embassadors vnto Darius. The more parte of the Souldiers were distributed amongst the bandes to fill vp the numbers that wanted, and the rest were sent home, except the Lacedemonians, which he commaunded to bee put in prison. There was a nation called Mardons, bounding next to Hircania, rude in their manners and vsages, accustomed to lyue by theft: They neither sent Embassadors, nor gaue any signification that they would be at Alexanders commaundement : hee tooke thereat great indignation that any one people should giue impediment to his victorie, and therefore leauing a garde for his cariages, went against them wth a strong power. He marched forwarde in the night, and by the time that the day appeared, his enemies were in sighte. But the matter came rather to alarme then to any fight. For the enemies were sone driven from the hilles, who flying away, left their villages to bee sacked by the Macedons. But the armie could not passe into the inward partes of the countrey without great trouble and veration, the same being compassed about with hygh mountaines, greates

woods

woods and deserte rockes, and the partes which were plaine were defended with a strange kind of fortification, y^e is to say with trees set thicke of purpose, the boughes whereof when they were young, were wreathed one within another: The toppes beinge downe were put into the ground again, from whence as out of another root there sprung new branches. They would not suffer the same to growe as nature brought them forth, but did knitte them so one with another, that when they were full of leaues, they couered cleane the earth. The trees thus wreathed one with another, enclosed in the countrey as it were with a continual hedge, & were as snarres to entangle such as would go about to enter. There was no way could be deuised to passe through y^e same, but onely by cutting downe of the wood. And therein they found a great difficultie, and much trauaile, by reason that the wreathing and wrapping together of the boughes kepte them off from the bodies of the trees, and the weaknes of the boughes so yielded to y^e strokes that they coulde not easily bee cutte a sonder: The inhabitants of the countrey were accustomed to creepe amongst the bush like wilde beastes, and by priuie salies brake out vpon their enemies. Alexander therefore caused his menne after the maner of hunters to seek out their lurking places, and killed manye of them. But at length he enuironed the woode with his Souldiers rounde about, to the intente they might

byeake

breake in at euery place, where they should spye any entry. In doing whereof, many wandred & lost their company in places that they knewe not, and were taken prisoners: and amongst them Bucephalus Alexanders horse, whome he did not cōtēme as men do other beastes: for he would not suffer any other man to leape vpon him: and when the king would ride he would kneele downe vpon his knees to receiue him, so that he seemed to haue the sence to vnderstande whome he caried. Alexander was moze sorrowfull, and stirred to a greater wrath for the losse of the horse, then was expedient for such a cause for searching about to get the horse againe, hee caused proclamation to be made by an interpreter, that except he were restozed, he would not leaue one of the countrey men aliue. When they heard this terrible threating, amongst other giftes they presented vnto Alexander his horse. Yet he was not therewith pacified, but cōmanded the wooddes to be cut downe, and the waies to be made plain which he cut through y woods. This worke went so well forward, that the inhabitants dispeiring of abilitie to defend the countrey, yelded themselues to the king. Who receiuing their pledges, committed them to the keeping of Phzadates, and from thence the fifth day returned againe to his campe. There hee gaue to Artabasus the double honour that Darius did vnto him, and sent him home againe in to his countrey. After that he came to the Citie

of

of Hircania, where Darius Palatice was, Pabazane vpon assurance came thither, bringing with him great gifts, and amongst the rest presented vnto Alexander Bagoas an Eunuch of singuler beautie, being in the first flower of his age whom Darius accustomed, & after Alexander: at whose intercession specially he did pardon Pabazanes. The nation of the Amazons, being neere vnto Hircania (as hath bene saide before) did inhabite the playnes of Themyscire about the Riuer of Thermodoonta, and had a Quene reigning ouer them called Thalestris, which kepte vnder her dominion all the countreys betwene the mount Caucasus, & the Riuer of Phasis. She for the great affection shee had to see Alexander, trauailed out of her owne countrey, and being come neere where he was, sent certeine before that a Quene was come of desire to visite him, and to make her acquaintance. When libertie was giuen her to come to his presence, she caused al the rest of her band to stave, and she came forwardes accompanied with three hundred women. As soone as she perceiued Alexander, she leaped from her horse, carrying two Launces in her hande.

The Amazons apparell is such, that it doth not couer all their bodyes: for their brestes bee bare on the left side, and their garments which they vse to knit vp with a knotte, come not to their knees. One brest they alwaies reserue vntouched wherewith they nourish their women

K. 1.

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children, but their right breasts they vse to seare, to make them more apt to drawe their bowes, and cast their dartes. Thalestris looked vpon Alexander with a bolde countenance, and considering in beholding of him, that his personage answered not to the fame that she had heard of his acts. For the barbarous nations gaue great veneration to the maiestie of the personage, thinking none to bee sufficient for the doing of great acts, but such as nature hath endued with great personages. It was demaunded of her if she had any request to make vnto Alexander: Whereat she was not abashed to confesse that she was come thither to get children with him: thinking her selfe a personage worthy of whom he should get heires to inherite his kingdome, wherein shee couenanted that if it were a woman she would keepe it still, & if it were a man childe, she would restore it to the Father. Alexander enquired of her if she would go forward with him in his warres: but therein she excused her selfe, that she had left no order for the defence of her kingdome. But she continued still in declaration of the cause of her comming, and required that her hope therein might not be in vaine. The womans appetite seemed to be more vehemently giuen to lust then the kinges was: yet she obtained of him to stay for her cause, and consumed thirteene daies in satisfiying of her desire. That done she departed to her owne kingdome, & Alexander went to Parthenia, which

was

was the place where he first shewed manifestly the vices that were in him. Where he turned his continencie and moderation, beeing the moste excellent vertues appering in anie kinde of estate, into pryde and voluptuousnes, not esteeming his countrey customes, nor the whole some temperaunce that was in the vsages and discipline of the kinges of Macedon. For hee iudged their ciuyle vsage and manner to bee ouer base for his greatnes: but did counterfeyte the height and pompe of the kinges of Persia, representing the greatnes of the Gods. He was content to suffer men there to fall downe flatte vpon the ground, and woozship hym, and accustomed the victorours of so manye Nations, by little and little to seruaile offices, coueting to make them lyke vnto his captiues. He ware vpon his heade a Diademe of purple, interpaled with white, like as Darius was accustomed, and fashioned his apparell after the maner of the Persians, without scrupulositie of anye euill token that it signified for the victour to change his habit into the fashion of him whom he had vanquished. And though he had vaunted y hee ware the spoyles of his enemies: yet wyth those spoyles he put vpon him their euill manners: and the insolencie of the mynde, folowed the pride of the appaile. Besides hee sealed such letters as hee sente into Europe with hys accustomed seale: but all the letters he sente abroad into Asia, were sealed with Darius King,

R.y.

So

So it appeared that one minde could not beare & greatnes that appertained to two. He apparai-
led also his friends, his Capitaines, and his horse
men in Persian apparell, whereat though they
grudged in their mindes, yet they durst not re-
fuse it for feare of his displeasure. His Courte
was replenished with Concubines: for he styll
mainteined three hundred and three-score that
belonged to Darius, and amongst them were
flockes of Eunuches accustomed to performe
the vse of women. The olde souldiers of Philip
naturally abhorring such thinges, manifestly
withstode to be infected with such voluptuous-
nes, and straunge customes. Whereupon there
arose a generall talke and opinion thzoughout
the campe, how that they had lost more by the
victorie, then they had wonne by the warre. For
when they sawe themselves overcome in suche
excesse: and forreigne customes so to preuayle
amongst them, they iudged it a slender reward
of their long being abroad, to retourne home in
the habite of prisoners. They began to be asha-
med of their king, that was then more like to
such as were subdued, then to them that were
victorious: and that of a king of Macedon was
become a Prince of Persia, and one of Darius
Courtiers. When he understode that the chiefe
of his frendes and his men of warre were grie-
uously offended with his doings, he went about
to recouer fauour againe with giftes and libe-
ralitie; but it is to be thought that the rewards

of

of seruitude be vngratefull to free menne. And
therfore least this matter might turne into a se-
dition, he thought good to breake the imaginati-
ons encreased by idlenesse with the exercise of
warre, whereof an apte occasion was giuen.
For Bellus inuesting himselfe as a king, took
vpon him the name of Artaxerxes, drawing to
his part the Scythians and other that were the
inhabiters of the Riuer of Thanais: which
thinges were reported to him by Nabarzanes,
whome he had receiued into his fauour, and gi-
uen the rule of the countrey that he had before.
When he had determined this new expedition,
he found his army so ouercharged & laden with
spoile and other furnitures of voluptuousnes,
that they could not scarcely moue. Wherefore
hee commaunded the baggage and stufte of the
whole army to be brought together in one place
excepting onely such thinges as were verie ne-
cessarie. The place was large, and plaine why-
ther the cartes were brought to bee laden: and
when euery one stode wayting & musing what
he would commaund them to doe, he caused the
beastes to be remoued first out of the way, and
then set his olone fardels on fire, and after all &
rest. Whylest these thinges were burning, the
owners were on fire to see those thinges consu-
med, for the sauing whereof they had oft quen-
ched the flames in Cities of their enemies. Yet
no man durst lament the price of his own bloud
seeing they sawe the fire consume the kinges ry-

K.ij,

ches

thes as well as their owne: and y rather to pacifie them, the king did mitigate their dolour with a bryefe Oration. Whereupon they that were euer apte for the warres, and ready to do all thinges, beganne to be ioyfull that wyth the losse of their baggage, they had preserued their discipline accustomed in the warres. As they were setting forwardes towardes Bactria, Picanor the Sonne of Parmenio dyed suddenly, whome euery man greatly lamented: but chiefly the king was sorrowfull, desiring to haue staied for the celebration of his buriall, but that wante of victuals caused him to hast forward. Phylotas therefore was lefte behinde, with y. thousande and six hundred souldiers to performe the ceremonies appertaining to his brothers buriall, and he himselfe marched towardes Bessus. In the waye letters were brought to Alexander from the princes thereabout, that Bessus was coming towardes him with a great army, adding therunto, that Satibarzanes who he had made Prince of y Arians, was newly rebelled. For that cause (notwithstanding he was come nere unto Bessus) he thought it best first to oppresse Satibarzanes: and for that intente brought forwardes his horsemen and footemen, that were light armed, to invade him suddenly. His coming was not so priue, but Satibarzanes knewes thereof, and fledde into Bactria, with two thousand horsemen. For by reason he was not able to assemble anye more in so shorte a time

a time, the reste tooke the nexte mountaines for their refuge. There was a rock which towards the west was high and steepe, but towardes the East more lowe and easie to be climbed vpon, which parte was full of trees. The same rocke being in compasse xxy. furlongs, had a fountain running continually, and in the toppe a greene plaine, where they placed the weaker multitude but the rest that were apt for defence, being to the number of thirteene thousande, gotte themselves to the edges of the rocke, and there threw downe logges and stones vpon the Macedons that came to assaile them. He left Craterus to besiege this rocke, and went in person to pursue Satibarzanes. And because he vnderstood that he was fledde farre off, returned backe againe to the siege of them that were vpon the rocke. First he caused all thinges to bee taken away, that might be any impediment to his men in y assault giuing. But when they came to y bare and steepe rocke, the labour seemed wast, where nature wrought agaynst them. But hee that was of a disposition alwayes to strue agaynst difficulties, considering howe harde a matter it was to goe forwardes, and howe daungerous to retourne backe againe, did caste in his heade all the wayes and deuyses that could be imagined, and nowe fantasied one thing, and then another, as men bee wont when that y wayes they haue founde out first doe not please them. As hee stood in a waye doubting what to doe, fortune

tune did minister vnto him a meane, which nei-
 ther wit nor reason could inuent. It chaunced
 that the wind blew soze at the south-west, what
 time y souldiers had felled great plentie of wood
 wherof they thought to make scaffolds to mou-
 bp against the Rocke, and the heate of the sunne
 had made the same drye. When Alexander per-
 ceiued the wind to blow after that sort, and the
 wood lying in that place, he conceived by and by
 his purpose, & willed more trees to be cut down,
 and laide vpon them, putting all other thinges
 to it, that were apte to kindle and nourish fire:
 So that trees heaped vpon trees, became as it
 were a mountaine, so high as the toppe of the
 Rocke. The same being set on fire in all partes
 at once, the winde caried the flame into the face
 of their enemies, and the smoke couered ouer y
 skie. The noise was then great y the fire made,
 which burned not onely the trees that were fi-
 red of purpose, but also the reste of the wood gro-
 wing nere thereabout. The enemies were so
 tormented with the flame and heate of the fire,
 that they were enforced to forsake their place of
 strength, and attempted to escape away where
 the fire gaue them least impediment. But wher
 the fire gaue place, the Macedons stood in readi-
 nes to receiue them, so that they were consu-
 med and flaine diuers kindes of waies. Some
 threwe themselves downe the rockes, some ran
 into the middelt of the fire: other fell into their
 enemies handes; and a felwe halfe consumed
 with

with fyre, were taken prisoners. When Aleran-
 der had done this acte, he returned to Craterus
 which besieged Artacnan, who hauing prepared
 all thinges in readinesse, tarped onely for the
 kinges comming, to giue him the honour of the
 winning of the Citie. When Alexander was
 come, he approched the walles, with the tow-
 ers of timber that he had prepared for the assault, at
 the sight wherof the inhabitants were so afraid
 that they held bp their handes from the walles
 requyzing him to spare them, and erecute bys
 wrath vppon Satibarzanes, that was the au-
 thor of their Rebellion. Alexander pardoned the
 freely, and not onely leuyed his siege, but also re-
 stozed to the inhabitantes all thinges that per-
 teined to them. As he remoued from this Citie,
 there came vnto him a newe supply of Souldi-
 ers. Zoylous brought out of Grece five hun-
 dred horsemen, and thre thousand which Anti-
 pater sent out of Illiria. There came a hundred
 and thirtie Thessalian horsemen with Philip,
 who also brought of Souldiers straungers out
 of Lidia, two thousand five hundred footemen, &
 thre hundred horsemen. Alexander hauing thus
 encreased his power, entered into the countrey
 of the Dragans, which were a warlyke nation,
 & vnder the gouernement of Sabarzanes, who
 being of counsell with Bessus in the treason y
 he committed against his priuce, when he heard
 of Aleranders comming, for feare of the punish-
 ment he had deserued, fledde into India. Thus
 had

had they lyen in campe nine dayes, when Alexander being without feare of any enemy, & invincible against al fozein powers, was brought in perill by treason of his owne people. It chaunced that one Dimmus a man of meane behaviour and authoritie with his pzince, was greatly enflamed in the looue of a young man called Pichomachus, with whome he vsed much familiar conuersation. This Dimmus on a tyme being in a passion, (as it well appeared by his countenance) allured this yong man into a temple: where remaining alone together, declared that he had certeine secrets to shew him, which in no wise were to be reported againe. Therby he brought Pichomachus in great suspicion, what y matter should be: For befoze he would tell him, he made a protestation by the loue and familiaritie betwixt them, that he would assure him by his oth to keepe the thing secreete: who supposing the matter to be of no such weight, & he ought with periurie and breaking of his oth to disclose the same againe, sware by the Gods there present. When Dimmus opened vnto hym how there was a treason conspired against the king, which within thre daies should bee put in execution, whereof (he said) he himselfe was pryuy with diuers men of nobilitie and estimation. When Pichomachus did heare it to bee such a matter, constantly denied then that his promise extended to conceale Treason, whereunto no oth nor Religion could bynde a manne. When

Dimmus

Dimmus heard him say so, he became in a rage betwixt loue and feare, and clasped the young man by the hande, requyzyng him with weeping eyes, that he would not sticke to bee a partaker in the execution of this conspiracie, or at y least if his heart would not serue him, that he would keepe his counsaile secreete, in respect that he had found such pzoofe of loue in him, to commit hys life into his handes without any further pzoofe of his fidelitie. But in conclusion, when he perceived that Pichomachus woulde in no wise agree to his purpose, but manifestly abhorred the acte, he vsed diuers meanes to bring him to hys intente, one while intreating him with fayze wordes, and another while threatening to kyll him. He called him coward and traytour to hys freend, commending the goodlines of the enterprise, and put him in hope of great preferment, in that they should be partner of the kingdome they went about to get. When hee had pzooued all these waies, and yet found him strange, he thrust his sword one while to Pichomachus throte, and another while to his owne, so that at length by thzeatning & fair speaking, he brought him to promise, both to keepe his counsell secret, and also to be assisstant to the dede doing. Yet neuerthelesse as one of a constant mind (though for the tyme presente hee seemed to bee wonne wyth the looue of his frend, and become agreeable to his requestes) chaunged no parte of hys former purpose. This being done, Pichomachus

requis

required to know what the men were, that had confederated them-selues in so weighty a matter, because the persons (hee saide) were much materiall that shoulde take so great an enterprise in hande. Then Dimmus (though he were in great trouble of minde that he had brought y^e matter so far forth) yet when he heard him aske the question, he reioiced, and thanked him greatly, that he would so freely associate himself with such maner of men, as Demetrius of the priuy chamber was, Deculaus, Picanor, Aphebetus, Locus, Diocenus, Archepolis and Amintas. This communication once ended betwixt them, Pichomachus departed, and disclosed al the matter which he had heard before, to a brother of his called Ceballinus: agreeing betwixt them two, that Pichomachus should remaine secret in his tent, least by his comming to the kings lodging, not vsing to haue accessse vnto the king, the conspirators might perceiue themselves betrayed. Ceballinus repayred to the kings lodging, and taried before the gate, wayting for some man neere about the king, to bring him to his presence. It fortuned that amongst many which passed by, onely Philotas the sonne of Parmenio, demaunded why he wayted there. To whō Ceballinus with a bashed countenaunce (well declaring the vnquietnes of his minde) reported all those thinges which he had heard of his brother, requyring him that hee would declare the same immediately to the king. Philotas departed

ted from him vnto the king, with whome that day he had much communication of other things, & yet opened no part of the same matter which was tolde him by Ceballinus. At night as Philotas came forth, Ceballinus met him at the Court gate, and enquired whether he had done his message to the king or not. Hee excused the matter that he could finde him at no leysure. The next day Ceballinus met him agayne, going to the king, and put him in remembrance of that he had tolde him before, to whome he answered that he remembred it well: but yet for all that, he disclosed no parte of the matter. Ceballinus began then to suspecte him, and intended no longer to deferre the thing, but opened the same to one Petron Paster of the kings armory: who immediately conueyed Ceballinus into the armory, and wente streight to the king which was bathing, and enformed him of all that he had heard. Alexander then made no delay, but sente certeine of his garde to take Dimmus, and after came himselfe into the armory. As soone as Ceballinus sawe the king, hee ranne to him with great reioicing, and said, loe I haue preserved thee from the handes of thine enemies. But Alexander examined him of all y^e circumstance, and he againe answered to euerie point in order. The king was earnest to know how long it was since Pichomachus had giuen him this information, and he confessed y^e it was thre dayes. Whereupon the king considering

bering that he could not with truth haue concealed this matter so long, commanded that he should be put in ward. Then cried he out, and declared how y^e at the same instant he knew of the conspiracie first, he opened it to Philotas, of whome (he saide) he might enquire the truth. Whereupon it was demaunded of him, whether he had required Philotas to bee brought to the kinges presence or no. Which thing when the king by his confession perceived to be true, and that he did stidly abide by his first tale, he lyfted vp his hands to heauen, the teares falling from his eyes, greatly complaining that Philotas should requite him with such vnt ruth, whom he most assuredly trusted. Dimmus in the meane season knowing for what cause he was sent for, wounded himselfe to death: but yet somewhat letted by them that were sent to take him, was brought before the king, whom as soone as he beheld, he saide vnto him:

Dimmus, what haue I offended thee, that thou shouldest thinke Philotas more worthy to be king of Macedon then I?

At which wordes Dimmus became speechlesse, and casting forth a great sigh, tourned his face from the kings sight, & fell down dead. The king called Philotas before him, and said.

This man whom thou here seest, should haue suffered death if it could haue been proued that he had concealed two daies the treason prepeised against mee. With the which matter he chargeth thee Philotas: to whom (as he saith) he gaue knowledge immediately, y^e more nere thou art about me, so much greater is thy offence:
and

and the fault had bene more tollerable in him then in thee. How be it thou hast a fauorable iudge: for if there bee any thing that cannot be excused, yet at the least it may be pardoned.

To this Philotas nothing abashed (if the heart may be iudged by the countenance) made aunswere, that Ceballinus brought him a tale, the reporter whereof was ouer light of credit to be beleued, and that he feared least by the presenting of such a matter which did rise vppon brabbling betwixt two persons of euill disposition, he might haue bene laughed to scozne: but afterwardes when he once knewe that Dimmus had slaine himselfe, hee was clearely then resolved no longer to haue prolonged the thing. And so falling downe before the king, besought him that hee would rather haue respecte to hys life passe, then to his faulte, which was onely a concealment, and no acte done. It is harde to say, whether the king beleued him, or grounded his displeasure more deeply in his heart: neuerthelesse in token of pardon, hee gaue him hys hande, saying how it appeered that the accusation was rather miscredited by him, then concealed of malice. Notwithstanding hee called hys counsaile together, amongst whome Philotas was not admytted, but Nichomachus was brought in before them, where hee declared all such matters as he before had shewed to y^e king. There was one Craterus in speciall fauour with Alexander, which for the enuy he had to Philotas aduancemēt bare him alwaies grudge:
Who

Who knew very well that the king had often bene displeased with Philotas, for y^e ouer much aduancing of his good seruice an dvaliant acts: but yet for all that in those matters he was not suspected of treason, but onely noted of presumption and arrogancie. Craterus thought that hee could not haue a better occasion to oppresse his enemy, then by colouring his priuate hatred wth a pretended duetie towarde his Prince.

Would God (quoth he) ye had taken our counsaile in the beginning of this matter: for if ye would needes haue pardoned him, ye shoulde haue kepte from hys knowledge how much he was in your daunger, rather then to haue brought him in feare of his life: whereby ye shall make him moze mindful of his own peril, then of your goodnes. For hee may alwaies imagine your death: but you shall not bee alwaies in case to pardon him. Let it neuer sinke in your hart, that he which purposed so heynous a treason would chaunge his purpose for the beneuolence of a pardon. You knowe well that such as offende are often in dispeire of mercie. And though hee perchaunce either with repentaunce of his fault, or remembrance of your goodnes would chaunge his minde, yet I am sure that his Father Parmenio, generall capitaine of so great an army, and of so grounded authoritie amongst your souldiers (that is with them in maner as your selfe) would bee content to bee in your debt for his sonnes life. There bee certeine benefites hatefull to men: and it is shame to confesse to haue deserued death. Therefore I conclude, that hee had rather it shoulde bee thought you had doone him wrong, then that he had giuen him his life. I cannot see therefore, but you shall bee enforced to destroy them for their owne suretie. There be enemies inough remaining yet vnconquered, against whom we be going: make your selfe sure from your foes at home, so shall ye haue lesse neede to feare your enemies abroad.

These were Craterus words, and the residue
of

of the counsaile were of opinion, that Philotas would neuer haue concealed this conspiracie, except hee had bene either principall or priue thereunto. For they thought there was no true man, or of honest hart, though he had been none of the kinges familiars, but one of his meane seruantes, hearing so much as Philotas heard, but would forthwith haue opened the matter. Yet hee being the sonne of Parmenio, the master of the kinges horse, and of his priue counsaile, did not so much as the straunger, which streightwaies made relation of that his brother had tolde him. And whereas he pretended that the king was at no leysure, that they iudged to be done, to the intent the accuser should not seek any other to whom he might utter it. Whereas Nicomachus, albeit he was bounde by his oth to the contrarie, yet would he neuer rest till hee had discharged his conscience. But Philotas when he consumed in maner the whole day in sport and pastime with the king, could not finde in his hart to cast forth a fewe words, speciallie in a matter so much concerning the kings saue garde. But admit (quoth they) he had giuen no credite to the matter, through the lightnes of y^e reporter, why should he haue deferred the accuser two daies, as though he had beleued it? For if he had misliked the tale, he might haue dismissed the partie. It was also alledged that euery mans minde much misgiueth him, when the matter concerneth his owne icoperdie. Much
D.J. more

more ought men to be credulous when it touched the safetie of a kings person, in which case it ought to be examined, though it be of small weight. They all therefore determined that Philotas should be enforced to disclose the partners of the conspiracie. The king commanding them to keepe the matter secret departed, and to the intent no inckling should appeere of this newe counsaile: he caused it to be proclaimed y^e the army should set forwards the next day. The same night the king called Philotas to a banquet, with whom he boursafed not only to eat, but also familiarly to comune, notwithstanding hee had before in the counsaile determined hys death. After in the second watch of the night, Ephestion, Craterus, & Crigonus, which were of the kinges counsaile, came priuily into the Court without anye lighte, and of the Esquires there came Perdicas and Leonatus, by whom commandement was giuen that al such as lay neere the kinges lodging should watch in harnisse. By this time souldiers were appointed to all the passages, and horsemen were sent to keepe the wayes, that no man should passe priuily to Parmenio, which then was gouernour of Medea with a great power. Then Attaras came into the court with ccc. armed men, vnto whom there was appointed x. of those that had the charge of the kinges person, euery one of the accompanied with ten esquires, which were sorted into diuers companies to take the other con-

spira

spiratours. But Attaras with his ccc. was sente to Philotas lodging, where with fiftie of y^e hardiest brake vp his chamber dore that was shut against them. The residue were commaunded to beset the house, least he might escape by some secret way. Philotas whether it were through the suretie of his owne conscience, or through wearines of such trauaile of minde, was in so profound and dead a sleepe, that Attaras brake in vpon him before he wist. But at length when hee was awaked and come to hymselfe, perceiving them about to binde him, he exclaimed and saide: O Alexander, the malice of mine enemies haue preuailed aboue thy mercie. Speaking these wordes, they couered his face, and brought him into the Court. The next day the king gaue comaundement that certeine of the men of warre should assemble in harnesse to the number of six thousand besides slaues & rascals that filled full the Court, which being assembled together, the garde compassed in Philotas with their band, to the intent he should not be espied of the people, vntill such time as the king might speake vnto them. For by an olde lawe of the Macedons the kinges in their owne persons were wont to enquire in matters of treason: yet could not the kinges authoritie preuaile to condemnation, except it were confirmed by the consent of the men of warre. Therefore the body of Dimmus was first brought into the place, the most part vnknowing what he had done, or by

S. y.

what

What chaunce he was slaine. Then came the king forth to speake vnto the multitude, which in his countenaunce declared the dolour of his heart: and the sadnesse of such as were nere about him, caused vnto the rest great expectation of the matter. He did cast his eyes towards the earth, and stood long astonied & in a muse, but at length he plucked vp his spirits, & spake vnto them in this wise.

By the treason of some menne I was almost taken from you: but through the mercie and prouidence of the Gods I am yet preserved. Your honourable presence doth constrain me more vehemently to be moued against these traitours, because the onely comfort and fruite of my life is, that I remayne to giue thanks to so many noble menne, to whom I am so much bounden.

With speaking of these words the murmur of the multitude did interrupt his tale, and the teares did fall from their eyes. Then the king began againe his tale.

How much more will you bee moued when I shall shewe you the authours of so horrible a treason, the rehearsal of whome I yet refraine, as one very loth to discouer their names. But I must overcome the me-morie of my former fauour, and vtter the conspiracie of my vnnaturall people: for how is it possible for mee to hyde so great a treason? Parmenio a man of that age, so deeply in my debt, through the most ample benefits both of me and my father, and whom I most esteemed of all my frendes is the capitaine and contriuer of all this mischief. His minister Philotas hath procured Leucolaus, Demetrius, & this Dimmus (whose bodie here you see) with other partners of their fury to my destruction.

When hee came to that point, there arose throughout the multitude a great charme of a mur-

murmure and complaint, such as is wont to be amongst a number, and specially of menne of warre, when they are moued either with affection, or displeasure. With that Pichomachus, Metron, and Ceballinus were brought forth, e- uery one of them giuing in euidence that they had spoken before, yet appeared it not by anie mans tale that Philotas was priue to that con- spiracie. But at the laste when the noyse was ceased, and the witnesses had said all they could, the king proceeded in this wise.

Of what maner of minde thinke you was this man, which hearing the whole report, could find in his hart to conceale the matter, the truth whereof is wel declar- ed by the death of Dimmus. Ceballinus that repo- z- ted an vncertaine tale, for the tryall therof was afraide of no tormentes, and neuer delaied the moment of time untill he had discharged himselfe: in so much that hee brake into the place where I was bathing: but Phi- lotas only feared nothing, he beleued nothing. O how great a heart had this man, which hauing knowledge of the daunger of his king, did neuer chaunge counte- nance, neither take so much paine as to heare out the tale of the accuser: But in this silence and concealement there is treason hidden, and the greedie desire he had to reigne, did driue him headlong to attempt extreme mis- chiefe. His father is gouernour of Iudea, and beareth such a stroke amongst the Capitaines and men of war through mine authoritie, that hee hopeth for a great deale more then he hath. And because I am without children he esteemeth me not. But Philotas is decey- ued. I haue children, frendes, and kinsfolke amongst you. So long as you bee in safegarde, I shall not rec- ken my selfe without heires.

Then did he recite a letter that was taken, which Parmenio had writte to his sonnes, Pi- tanor, and Philotas, wherein there appeared no
S. ij. great

great pꛛoofe of anye greater treason intended. The effecte was this: First take good heede to your selues, & then to those that belong to you, so shall we bring to passe that we haue purposed. Which letter the king enforced, saying: it was written after such a maner, that if it came to his sornes handes, it might bee perceiued of them that knewe the matter. And if it were caught by the way, it should deceiue them that knew it not. Then proceeded he.

Now will Philotas perhaps say, that when Dimius named all that were partakers of his conspiracy, he named not him. As toz that it is no pꛛoofe of his innocencie, but a token of his power and authoritie, because he was spared of them that might best bewraye him, which confessing of themselues, durst not speake of him. But what maner man he hath bene his lyfe doth shew. He was fellowe and companion to Amintas my kinsman, which conspired high treason against my person in Macedon. He gaue his sister in marriage to Attalus, then whome I had neuer greater enemy. When by reason of olde frendship and familiaritie I wrote to him of the title giuen to mee by the Oracle of Jupiter Hammon, he did not sticke to aunswere: that he was very glad that I was admitted into the number of Goddes, howbeit very sorry for those that should lye vnder such a one as would exceede the state of a man. These were plaine tokens that his hart was turned from me, & that he spited my gloꝝy. Which I kept close in my hart so long as I might. For I thought my haueis pulled from mee, if I should make a lytle stoz of them, for whom I had done so much. But now it is not their wordes that must bee punished: for the raiues of their tongues is turned to swords, which be to me, Philotas hath whetted to my destruction. Whom if I should suffer to escape, alas my souldiers, whither should I go: to whom should I commit my person? He was the man that I made generall of my

horsesmen

horsesmen, of the greatest part of mine army, & of al the noble young Gentlemen. To his truth and fidelitie haue I committed my sauegard, my trust, and victory. His father did I preferre vnto the same estate wherunto you aduanced mee, Medea, then which there is not a richer countrey, with many thousandes of your frends and fellows, I haue put vnder his gouernance and authoritie. Where I trusted of most suretie, there found I most perill. Howe much moze happy had I bene to haue dyed in battaile, and rather bene slayne of myne enemies, then thus betrayed of my subiectes: for now being saued from the dangers that I most feared, I haue fallen into those that I ought to haue doubted least. You haue bene wonte oftentimes to warne me that I should regarde my suretie. It is not that may make mee sure of that which you counsel me. To your hands & to your succour I flie. I would not lye though I might against your willes, and though you would, yet can I not, except I be deliuered from these my enemies.

Whereupon Philotas was brought forth in an olde garment, his hands bound behind his back. It wel appeared how much this miserable sight moued the which late before enuyed him. The day before they saue him generall of the horsesmen, they knew that he was at supper with the king, and sodeinly they saue him both prisoner bound like a theefe, & also condemned to die. So it pitie their hartes to consider, how Parmenio so noble a man, so great a capitaine, which late hauing lost two of his sonnes, Hector & Picanor should be put to answere absent with the thirde son, whom euill fortune had left him. The multitude beeing thus enclined to pittie: Amintas one of the kinges officers, with a cruell tale set them all against the prisoner.

S.iii.

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We bee all (quoth he) betraied to the barbarous nations: none of vs shall retorne home to his countrey, wife, nor frendes, but as a maymed body without a head, without honour, without fame, in a strange countrey, shall be a mocking stocke to our enemies.

His tale was nothing pleasant to the king, because he put the souldiers in remembrance of their wiues and countrey, whereby he thought they would be the lesse willing to go forwarde in his warres. There was one Cenus, which though he had maryed the sister of Philotas, yet did he more extremely enuye him then any other, calling him traytour against his king, to his countrey, and to the whole army. And thereupon tooke vp a stone that by chaunce lay at his fete, to haue cast at Philotas, which he did (as some thought) to the end he might rid him from racking. But the king kept backe his hand, and saide that the prisoner shoulde haue libertie to speake for himselfe, and would not suffer him to be condemned other wise. When Philotas being admitted to speake, were it through the conscience of his offence, or through the greatnes of his perill, as a man astonied, and besides himselfe, durst neither looke vp nor speake, burst out into teares. Whereupon his heart fainted, and he solned downe vpon those that led him. But afterwarde when he had wiped his eyes, and by litle and litle recovered his hart and tongue, he made countenance to speake. Then the king behelde him in the face, and saide: The Macedons shall be thy Iudges. I would know there-
fore

fore whether thou wilt speake to them in thy countrey language, or not? So whome Philotas answered: Where bee diuers nations here besides the Macedons, which (as I trust) shall perceiue my wordes the better; if I vsie y same language that you did, because the more might vnderstand your tale. Then said the king, mark howe this man hath his owne countrey tongue in hatred. For there is none but he that wil dysdaine to speake it: but let him say what he wil, so long as you remember that he not onely dysdaineth our countrey customes; but also our language, and with that word the king departed from the assembly. Then said Philotas.

It is easie for an innocent to finde wordes to speake: but it is hard for a manne in miserie to keepe a temperance in his tale. Thus standing betwixt a cleare conscience, and moste vnhappy fortune, I knowe not in what wise I shall satisfie my selfe, and the time both together. For he that might best haue iudged my cause is gone: what the cause is that he will not heare mee, I cannot well imagine, sith vpon the matter heard, it speth onely in his handes both to discharge and condemne me. For the matter not heard, he cannot acquite mee being absent, since hee condemned mee when hee was heere present. But notwithstanding the defence of a prisoner is not onely superfluous, but also hateful, which seemeth not to enforme, but to reprove the iudge: yet will I not forsake my selfe, nor so doe, that I shall seeme condemned by mine owne default. I see not of what treason I should be guiltye. Among the conspirators no man named me. Nichomachus said nothing of mee. Ceballinus could not tell more of mee then hee heard. And yet both the king beleue that I should be head of this conspiracy. Was it possible that Dimmus should forget to name him that was chiefe: or is it likely that he would haue overlipped me, when the names
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of the conspirators were demanded of him: he would rather haue named mee falsly to allure the young man the sooner to his opinion: yet when hee tolde the matter priuily to Nichomachus whom he beleued verily would haue kept it secrete, naming himselfe and all the rest: of mee onely he made no mention, wherein it cannot be gathered that hee omitted mee, for because hee would haue spared me. I pray you my fellowes, if no manne had come to mee, or giuen me knowledge of the matter, should I this day haue bene put to answer, when no man would haue accused me: But be it that Dimmus were aliuie and would spare me, what thinke ye by the other: Would they confesse of themselves, & forbeare me: Aduersitie is malicious and spitefull. An offender when hee is punished himselfe, bleth not to a repentence to spare an other man. Commonly he that goeth to death wil spare no man, nor no man wil spare him that is ready to die: and yet so many as be guiltie and put to tormentes, will there none confesse the truth: But nowe I must answer to the point that was offence, if there were any. Why did I conceale treason: Why did I heare it with so small regard: This fault (if it were a fault) thou hast pardoned mee (O Alexander) wheresoeuer thou art, by giuing mee thy hande, & bidding mee to thy banquet in token of attonement. If you did beleue mee, I am cleare. If you forgaue mee, I am quite. Stande at the least to your owne iudgement. Alas what haue I done since thys last night I went from your boord: what newe report hath chaunged your mind: I rested in a sound sleepe, when mine enemies by their bidding waked mee, that was sleeping in myne owne misfortune. Offendours when they cannot sleepe thzough their vnquiet conscience are wont to be vexed with cares, not onely when their mischief is intended, but also when it is ended. But this quietnes came vnto mee first thzough myne owne innocencie, and then by the kings pardon. I feared not that others crueltie should take more place then his mercy. But least hee should forethynke, that beleued mee: ye shall vnderstande that the matter was first shewed mee by a light fellow, who could not bring any witnesse or warraunt of his tale: which if I had

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disclosed, should haue put many menne to trouble. An unhappy man, I thought mine eares had bene seduced with the brabblementes of two buggerers, and I suspected the trouble of the partie, because he dyd not vtter the matter himselfe, but procured his brother to doo it. I was in feare that the one should haue denied that euer hee shewed any such matter to the other, and then should I haue learned to procure much trouble to manye of the kings freendes. So that where I offended none, I haue founde some more desirous to procure my death, then to saue my life. What hatred suppose ye shoulde I haue gotten if I had accused innocentes: But Dimmus slewe hymselfe, could I therefore diuine afoze that hee would do so: No surely. Thus hys death beynge the thyng that onely tryed the accusation to be true, coulde not moue mee to vtter it, being presented by an other. And if I had bene Conspiratour wpth Dimmus of so greate a Treason: is it lyke that I would haue dissimuled by the space of two dayes after it was discovered: As for Ceballinus, it had bene small mastery to haue dispatched hym out of the waye. After the thing disclosed wherfore shoulde I haue declared the matter: I entred into the kings chamber alone, hauing weapons about me, why deferred I my purpose: Durst I not attempt it without Dimmus: No, perchance ye will say, because he was the chiefe conspiratour. How then standeth it together, that I shoulde be his vnderling, which did couet to be king of Macedon: which of you all haue bene corrupte of mee with bribes: What Capitaine, what Officer haue I made of aboute other: It is laide to my charge that I abhorre the speaking of my countrey language, & that I disdain the manners of the Macedons. What: doo I despise the kyngdome that I couet: Ye know well that our naturall tongue thzough the conuersation of strange Nations is gone out of vze: as well we that be victourers, as they that be subdued, must learne a newe language. But surely these thinges make no more agaynst mee, then did the Treason that Timotheus the Sonne of Perdicas intended agaynst the kyng: with him I had freendship I will not deny: excepte

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ye will make it a thing vnlawfull to looue the kinges brother. But Athens it was our ducie to honour a mā called to that degree of fortune, I beseech you am I guiltie because I could not gesse before that he would offend? Is the lawe such, that the friends of offenders must suffer being innocents? If that be reason, why liue I so long? If it be no reason, why am I condemned to dye? But when I wrote I had pitie of them that should liue vnder such a one as beleued himselfe to be the sonne of Jupiter. O faithful frendship & dangerous libertie of true counsell, that deceiued mee, that compelled mee not to hide that I thought. I confesse that I wrote so to the king, but not of the king. I did it not for spite, but for my dueties sake. I thought it more meete for Alexander to haue knowledged the kindred of Jupiter with silence, then to haue made vaunt thereof with vaine boasting. But for because the truth of Gods Oracle is certeine, let God be witnesse in my cause. Keteine me in prison till ye may know Jupiters aunswere concerning this conspiracie, and in the mean season he that hath vouchsafed our king to be his son, will suffer none of them that haue conspired against his offsprig to be vnknewen. If you suppose torments to be more certein then Oracles, I will not desire to be saued from them in trial of the truth. There is an olde vsage, that such as be put to aunswere vpon life and death, are wont to bring their parentes and kinsmen before you. Two brothers of late haue I lost: my father neither can I bring forth, nor dare cal for, because hee is accused of this treason likewise. Is it a small thing for him that was the father of manie children, and hauing but one sonne left in whome to take pleasure, not onely to lose him, but also to lose his own life with him? Therefore my most deere father shalt thou die for mee, and with me: It is I that ende thine olde daies: Why diddest thou beget me vnhappy wretch in hatred of the Gods, to take such fruit by me, as is prepared for thee? I am in doubt whether my youth be more vnhappy, or thy age. For I in the very flower of my youth am weeded by, and the executioner shall bereaue thee thy life, which if fortune would haue suffered to continue, yet nature would haue asked it ere ye
had

had bene long. The remembrance of my father dooth put me in mind how loth & timorous I ought to haue been to credit the report of tales. For when my father was enformed that Philip the phisition had prepared popson for Alexander, he wrote a letter to warne the king that he should not receiue the medicine which his phisition had prepared. Was my father beleued? Was his letter of any authoritie? I my selfe when I haue reported such things as I haue heard, how often haue I bene shaken off with a checke for my light belæse? So that when we tell things we are hated, and when we holde our peace we are suspected: what would you haue vs doe?

Then one of the company that stood by, cryed out, that none ought to be traytours to them that put them in trust.

Thou saiest well (quoth Philotas) whosoever thou art. And therefore if I haue done treason, I require no respite of my paine. And heere will I make an end of speaking, because my last wordes seeme tedious vnto your eares.

As he was speaking these words, his keepers led him away. There was amongst the Capitaines one Melon, a hardy man, but verie rude of all honest maner and ciuilitie, who being an olde souldier, was promoted from lowe estate, to the rounne of a Capitaine. This Melon presuming vpon a foolish audacitie (when all other had done) began to tell them, that when diuers had taken by their lodgings in the campe, howe they were thrust out by the seruantes of Philotas, which would lay their baggage wher other men were placed before: and how al the streets were full of his wagons, laden with golde and siluer. He added further that Philotas would suffer

suffer none to lodge nere him, but alwaies appointed certeine to wait whilest he slept, which should void al men aloofe, to the intent he should not bee disquieted with any noise: not so much for wakening of him, as for his diseasing, & how he was so haughtie, y^e he dispised the plaine men of Phrygia & Paphlagonia, & heeing a Macedon born, would not be ashamed to heare men of his own nation by an interpretour: & whereas Philotas had before moued to haue the oracle of Jupiter enquired of, he said it was meant therby to make God a lyer, for knowledging Alexander to be his sonne: as though any man should enuy y^e king for y^e title which the Gods had given hym. But why (quoth he) did he not aske counsell of Jupiter before he did offend? For now he would haue vs send for an Oracle, y^e in the mean seasō his father which ruleth in Media, might raise a power vp, & with the money that he hath in custodie assemble desperate persons to y^e fellowship of his mischief. Neuertheles we shal (quoth he) send to Jupiter, not to enquire of any thing touching the matter, but to giue hym thanks, and to doo hym sacrifice, for the preservation of so good a king. When all the company was moued, and amongst the kinges household there beganne a crie that the traytour should be rent in peeces. Which thing Philotas, (who feared more greuous punishment) was contente to heare. The king returning into the prease deferred the counsell till the next day, for to commit

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Philotas either to prison there to be racked, or els in the mean season to get further knowledge of thinges. And albeit it drew towardes night, yet commaunded he his counsell to be called together. Some of them thought it best that Philotas should be stoned to death after the Macedons lawes. Ephestion, Craterus, & Cenus, determined to haue the truth tried by tormentes, and then they which counseled the contrary, turned to their opinion. Wherefore when the counsaile was broken vp: Ephestion, with Craterus and Cenus, arose to take Philotas to the examination. The king called Craterus vnto him, and commaunding the rest to anoid, had secret communication wth him in y^e inner part of his lodging, the effect wherof came not to any mans knowledge: And there taried till the night was far passed, to heare the end of the examination. The executioners set forth all sorts of cruel tormētts in the sight of Philotas, who of his owne mind said vnto them.

Why deferre you to kill such a one as hath confessed himselfe the kinges enemy and a traytour: What needeth more examination? It was myne intent, it was my will.

Craterus minde was, that whatsoever was confessed before, should bee confessed by Philotas againe vpon the racke. Which whilest hee was taken vp, his eyes bounden, & spoiled of his clothes, cryed out vpon the lawe of nature, and the Gods of the countrey. But all was in vaine to their deafe eares. Finally as a condemned man

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man, he was torne with most extreme tormētts by his enemies, that wꝛung him soze for y^e kings pleasure. And notwithstanding that, both fire & scourges were ministred vnto him, moze to pain him then for any eraminations sake: yet he had power of himselfe both to refraine from speaking and groning. But after that his bodie began to bolne with stripes, and that he could not abide the scourges which pearced vnto the bare bones: When he promised if they would tormēt him no moze, hee would confesse whatsoeuer they should require to know. But first he would haue them sweare by the life of Alexander, that they should cease their tormētes, and sette the racke aside. The which thing obtained, he saide Craterus: Tell me what ye will haue mee to confesse: Thereat Craterus was displeased, thinking by those wordes that hee had mocked him, & caused his tormēts to be renewed. Then Philotas besought him to haue a time of respite whilest he might take his breath, and then he would vtter all that euer he knewe. In the meane season, the chiefe of the men at armes, and especially such as were neere to Parmenio, in any degree of kinred, after that the same had heard that Philotas was tormented, fearing the Macedons lawe (wherein it was ordeined that the kinnsfolke of such as had done treason against the king, should be put to death with the traytours: some slewe themselves, some fledde into wilde mountains, and walke wildernesses, and

and great dread and feare fell throughout al the hoste, vntil such time as the king hauing knowledge of the vttoze, made proclamation that hee would pardon the rigour of the law to the kinnsfolke of the traytours. But in conclusion Philotas made this confession, whether it were to deliuer himselfe out of paine by accusing himselfe falsly or not, it is doubted: seeing it is commonly seene, that both such as truely confesse and falsly deny, come all to one ende.

You are not ignorant (quoth he) howe famylar my father was with Egilocus. I meane the same that was slaine in the field: he was the cause of al our mischiefe. For when the king tooke vpon him the tytle of Jupiters sonne, he disdained thereat. Shall we knowledge him (quoth he) to be our king, that taketh scorn that Philip was his father? Wee are all vndone if wee can suffer this. He doth not onely despise men, but the Gods also, which wil be reputed a God. We haue lost Alexander, wee haue loste our king: we are fallen to presumption, neither tollerable to the Goddes with whom hee compareth, neither to men whom hee despiseth. Haue we with our blood made him a God, which despiseth vs: which disdaineth to be in the number of men? Trust me that wee also if wee men shall be adopted like wise of the Gods: who hath reuenged y^e death of Alexanders graundfather, or of Archilaus or Perdicas: But this man (quoth hee) hath forgiven them that slew his father.

These were the wordes that Egilocus spake about supper time, and on the morow early my father sent for me, who was heauy, and saw me sad, for we both had heard that which made vs out of quiet. Therfore to proue whether he babbled those words thzough excesse of wine, or of an

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advised purpose conceived before, we thought good to send for him, and seeking occasion of the same communication, he of his owne mind said further: that if we durst undertake the adventure he would not shrinke from vs, or if our hearts serued not, he would keepe our counsaile. Yet so long as Darius was liuing, my father thought all the matter out of time, because the death of Alexander shoulde bee to the auaille of our enemies, and not of our selues. But Darius once rid out of the way, then he that could destroy the king, should obtaine the Empire of Asia, and all the Orient for his reward: which counsaile being approued, faith & truth was giuen thereupon: but concerning Dimnius I knowe nothing. When he had confessed all this matter, I perceiue (quoth he) that it doth not auaille mee that I am utterly guiltles of this treason. Then they renewed his torments againe, and so beate his face & his eyes with the troncheons of their speares, untill they enforced him, not onely to confesse of himselfe, but also to shew the circumstances of the whole treason prepenſed.

Because (quoth hee) it seemeth that the king would sojourne long among the Bactrians, I was afrayde least my father that had so great a power in his hands, & the keeping of much treasure (being lxxx. yeres of age) should happen to die in the meane season, & then being disarmed of so great a strength, should not gette oportunitie to slea the king. Wherefore I hastened the matter whilst the pray was in hand.

Thus discovered he the conspiracie, wherof if they beleued his father to be the authour (hee said)

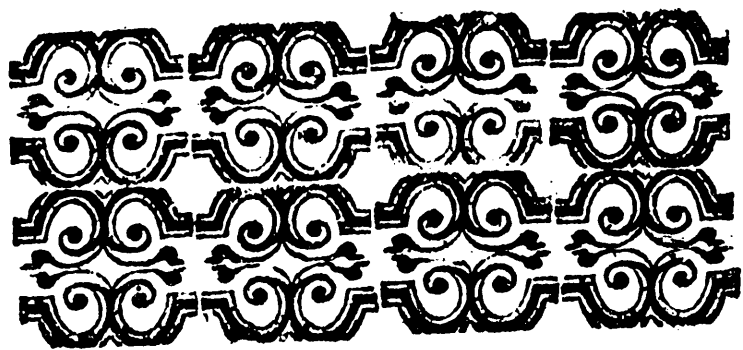
said) for his triall he refused not to be tormented againe, though it were too greuous for hym to endure. The officers then whispering together, thought the examination to be sufficient, and returned therewithall to the king, which on the morow caused all the confession there to bee openly recited before Philotas: whom he caused to be led into the place, because he was not able to goe, and there he confessed all the matter againe. Then Demetrius was brought forth, which was counted the greatest dower in this conspiracie next to Philotas. But hee with great protestation, & incredible stoutnes both of heart and countenance, denied that euer he intended any euill against the king, and for his trial desired to be tormented. When Philotas casting his eyes about, spied one Calis standing by, & made a signe to him to draw nere. Who being abashed, & refusing to come forwards: Wilt thou (quoth he) suffer Demetrius to lie, and me to be straitened againe? With those wordes Calis became speechlesse, & chaunged colour. When the Macedons began to suspecte that he would accuse innocentes, because y same Calis was neither named by Pichomachus, nor by Philotas himself in his tormentes. But finally Philotas before y kinges officers standing thereabout, confessed y treason was conspired by himself & Demetrius. Wherefore as many as were appeached by Pichomachus vpon a token giuen, were stoned to death according to the Macedons lawe.

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Thus was Alexander deliuered from great perill, not onely of his life, but also of his suretie. For Parmenio and Philotas being of such power, if they had not openly beene found culpable could not haue beene condemned without the grudge of the army. So long therefore as Philotas denied the thing, the matter seemed doubtfull, and many men thought him cruelly handled. But after that he had confessed the circumstances, no man, not so much as his neere frendes, tooke any pitie of him.



THE SEVENTH BOOKE OF QVINTUS Curtius of the Actes of the great Alexander, King of Macedon.



Like as the men of war thought Philotas iustly put to death, his offence being fresh in memorie, euen so after he was gone, who they before hated, their enuye was turned to pitie. The noblesse of the young man moued them much: so did the remembrance of the olde yeeres, and desolatiō of his father. He was the first that made the way open for Alexander into Asia, alwayes partaker of his perils, as he which in y warres was euer capitaine of y vanguard, chiefe in counsaile with the king his father, and so trustie to Alexander himselfe, that in oppressing of Attalus his enemy, he would vse none other mans seruice. The remembrance of these thinges was rise amongst all the souldiers, & seditious words came to the kinges eares, who being litle moued therewith, did wisely with trauaile auoide the euill occasions comming of idlenesse. Wherefore he made it to be proclaimed that all menne shoulde bee in readinesse before the Court gate, where they being once assembled, he came forth

to speake vnto them. And as was befoze deuised required the band of the Agrians to bring forth one Alexander Lyncestus, which long befoze Philotas had conspired the kinges death. This man beeing accused of two witnessses (as befoze saide) had remained in prison thzee yeeres togither. Against whom it was proued that he was of counsaile with Pausanias in the killing of king Philip. But because he saluted first Alexander by the name of king, his punishment was deferred, rather then his offence forgiven. For at the intercession of Antipater his Father in Lawe, the king had respited his iust indignation for that time. But the olde festered soze brake out againe, and the consideration of hys perill presente, renewed the remembrance of his danger passed. Wherefoze when hee was brought forth of prison, and commaunded to speake for himselfe, albeit hee had thzee yeeres leysure to deuise his aunswere, yet stammering and trembling coulde bring forth but little of y^e which he purposed to say. And finally, both hys heart and his memory failed him. Wherefoze there was none that doubted but that his fearefulness was a token of a guiltie conscience, & no default of memory: so that whilest he was staggering and backing in his tale, they that stood next thrust him through wth their pikes: whose bodie conuied out of the place, the king commaunded Amintas & Simmanas to bee brought forth: for Ptolemon their youngest brother,

after

after hee had knowledge of Philotas tormented away. Of all Philotas frendes, these two were mooste deare vnto him, and through hys commendation, aduanced to high and honorable offices. The king remembring with what earnestnes & labor Philotas had brought them into his fauour, doubted not but they were partie to this last conspiracie. Whereupon he declared to the multitude that hee had occasion of suspicion against those men long ago by his mothers letters, whereby he had warning to beware of them, and that they nowe fearing the sequele of wooser inconueniences had made them sure, enforced thereunto by apparant presumptions. First he saide, the day befoze Philotas treason came to light, it was well knowne that they had much conference with him in secret: & also their brother which fled away when Philotas was on the racke, hee had declared by the absenting of himselfe the cause of his fleeing. He shewed also that of late, contrary to their accustomed maner of waiting, without any cause mouing them thereunto, but onely by pretence of diligence they pressed next about the king of all other: whereat marueiling that they would furnish a roome whereunto they were not appointed, became so in doubt of their clustering togither, that he returned into the traine of the gentlemen y^e followed him. He declared besides, that when Antiphanes Clarke of the stable, the day befoze Philotas treason came to light, ac-

¶ iij.

ording

according to his accustomed maner, gaue knowledge to Amintas that he shoulde deliuer of his horse to such as had lost their owne: he proudly answered againe, that except he would content himselfe, he shoulde know shortly what manner of man he was. Which violence of tongue and rashnes of wordes bulked out (quoth hee) was nothing els but a declaration and token of his trayterous hart. These thinges beeing true, (he saide) they had no lesse deserved then Philotas, and if they were otherwise, he desire y they might answer vnto the points. There-uppon Antiphanes was brought in to giue euidence of the horse not deliuered, and of his proud answer giuen with threatening. When Amintas had gotten libertie to speake, he desired of the king, that whilst they answered for theselues, their hands might be loosed: which thing obtained, he made suite to haue his garment cast vpon him. Which Alexander not onely graunted, but willed a weapon to be deliuered to his hands, as other esquires vsed. When he had receiued the same, he eschued a litle the place where y corpes of Lincestes lay, and said in this wise.

Whatsoever shall become of vs (sir king) wee must thinke if our chaunce be good, the same to proceede of your fauour, and if it be euill, we must iudge the fault to be in our fortune, seeing you suffer vs to pleade our cause without prejudice, setting our mindes free, and our bodies at large, with the same apparel restoring vs wherein we were wont to followe you. Our cause is such that we cannot doubt of it, and we are passed the feare of fortune. Therefore with your fauour I will

answer first to these points wherewith you charged vs last. We knowe most assuredly that we be innocent of any kinde of wordes spoken to the derogation of your Maiestie: And durst affirme that you had overcome al enuy of men, but that peradventure you would that I went about with faire wordes to excuse things that haue bene maliciously spoken. Though it were so that wordes sometime did escape vs, either when we were aint, or wearied in marching, hazarding our selues in fighting, or els when we were sick or mending of our woundes: our honest doings otherwise do beserue, that ye should rather impute the same to the time then to any euill disposition in vs: For it is commonly seene where any thing chaunceth amisse, all men in maner become guiltie of the fault. We do violence sometime to our owne bodies which we hate not. Yea, the comming of the fathers vnto the children, sometime is both vngratefull, and also hatefull. But on the other side, when we receiue rewardes or giftes, or when we come laden home with spoile, who can then stay vs? who can restraine our cheerefulness: or who can resist our courage in fighting? The nature of man is neither to keepe measure in displeasure nor in gladnesse. Thus are wee dzyuen by the violence of affection, sometime with pitie, and sometime with fury, as our present desire doth gouerne vs. One while we are in munde to passe through India as farre as the Ocean sea, and by the memory of our wiues, children, and country call vs backe againe, and deth alter our purpose. But as the trumpet soundeth, streight all these imaginations do passe away, and euery man then runneth in to his aray, reuenging vpon their enemies the displeasure they conceiued within their lodgings. I would Philotas had offended but onely in wordes: I will passe ouer that, and returne to the other point, whereof we be accused. The friendship that was betwixt Philotas & vs I wil not only denie, but also confesse that we did couet the same, and receiued thereby great commenditie. Do you marueile that we did honour & esteeme the sonne of Parmenio, whom you did chuse to be next about your person, and did aduance aboue all other your frendes? You your selfe (if it please you to heare the

the truth) are the cause of this our perill. What other thing moued vs to craue Philotas frendship, the that we desired to please you. By his preferment we were aduanced to the degree of your fauour. Hee stood in such case with you that it behoued vs as well to sue for his beneuolence, as to feare to get his displeasure. Haue not we sworne that we should repute your enemies our enemies, and honoz your frends as our own? Should we haue bene found disobedient in this bond of duetie, and specially towards him, whome yee did preferre aboue all men? If this be a fault, ye haue few innocents, or surely none at all. All men desired to be Philotas frendes: but all that did couet could not be accepted. So if ye will make no difference between the partners of his treason, and such as were his frends: then so manie be offenders that would haue ben his frendes. What presumption haue you nowe that we should offende? I thynke because yesterday Phylotas talked with vs familiarly alone. Whereof I cannot excuse my selfe, if yesterday I chaunged anie thing of myne accustomed maner and liuing, but if so be we bled euerie day to do the like, then custome must needs make it to be none offence. But it may be said the horses were not deliuered to Antiphanes: and the daye before Philotas was detected, this matter was betwene Antiphanes and mee. If that be a iust cause of suspicion that I would not then deliuer my horses, there shall arise a doubtfull Plea betwene the denyer and the demaunder, sauing that his cause is better that keepeth still his owne, then his that requireth an other mans. I had tenne horses, of the which Antiphanes had distributed eight, to suche as had losse their owne: so there remayned onely two, which when hee would proudly and wrongfully haue taken away, I was enforced to keepe them still, excepte I would haue serued on foote. I cannot denie but this communication was had betwene a man of a free stomacke, and a person of a byle nature, which could do no maner of scrupce, but take away mens horses, and geue them to others. What mischief is this, that at one tyme I must purge my selfe both to the kyng and to Antiphanes. But to the other poynt that your

your mother did write to you of vs, as of your enemies: I would God she had moze wisely bene careful of her sonnes sauegarde, then doubtfully imagined such feyned figures. Why doth she not alio expreke the cause of her feare? Besides she sheweth not her author, nor yet signifieth one worde whereby she was moued to write vnto you such letters of fear. What wretched estate of myne, which standeth in leile hazard to holde my peace then to speake. Yet howsoeuer the matter shall passe: I had rather myne excuse shoulde displease you, then my cause. If you remember when you sent mee to fetch newe souldiers out of Macedon, euen then yee shewed mee that in your Mothers house there lurked many lusty young Gentlemen: wherfore you commaunded mee that in executing your commission, I should spare none, but bring with mee perforce all such as refused the warres. Which thing I did, & fulfilled your will therein moze largely then was expedient for mee. For I brought vnto you Gorgeas, Hecateus, and Gorgata, which now minister vnto you right acceptable seruite. What creature therefore is moze wretched then I, which if I had not fulfilled your will, should rightfully haue suffered, and now perish because I obeyed you? For truly there was none other cause that moued your mother to persecute vs, then that we preferred your vtilitie before a womans fauour: I brought vnto you of Macedons vi. thousand footmen, and viij. hundred horsemen, of the which the moze parte would not haue followed mee, if I had released such as would not haue come. It is reason therefore, that in as much as your mother is displeased with vs for your cause, that ye mitigate her, in whose displeasure ye haue put vs.

Whylest Amintas was thus pleading his cause they that had pursued his brother Malemon, (of whom we spake before) came leading him bound into the place. When y rage of the people coulde scarcely bee pacified, but as the maner was in such cases, they would haue stoned Malemon to death. Yet hee boldly spake to them, and said.

I desire no fauour for my self, so that my flying be not hurtfull to the innocencie of my brethren whom if ye cannot thinke cleere, let the fault be laid to me. For their matter appeared the better, because I which fledde away am suspected. As soone as he had spoken these wordes, the whole assembly were enclined in his fauour, & resolved to teares, being so sodeinely contrary turned, & now they were all conuerted on his part, which a litle before were all against him. He was in the prime & flower of his youth, and through other mens feare fled away amongst those horsemen, which were amazed at Philotas tormēt. His company had left him behinde, and whilest he was in doubt whether he might turn againe or flie further forwarde, was taken by them which pursued after him. He then began to weep and beate himselfe about the face: not so much lamenting his owne chaunce, as that case of his brethren being in danger for his cause, with which his behauiour he moued the king, and all the company there present. Onely his brother Amintas could not be pacified, but behelde hym with a fierce countenance, and saide.

O mad creature, then oughtest thou to haue swepte, when thou diddest put thy spurres to thy horse, as a traytour to thy brethren, and a companion of traitours. Thou wretch, whither and from whence diddest thou then flie? Thou hast nowe brought to passe, that both I am thought worthy of death, and also must become an accuser of other.

Palemon there-uppon confessed himselfe to haue

haue offended in that point, but more greuouslie against his brethren, then towards himselfe. Then the multitude could not abstain from weeping and shouting: being tokens whereby men in an assembly are wont to declare their affections: and with one consent they cried all to the king with one voice, that hee should spare innocents, and men of seruice: his frendes also vpon that occasion did rise, and with weeping eyes required the king of mercie. Then he commaunded silence, and saide.

By mine owne iudgement I doe pardon both you Amintas and your brethren, desirous that you should be more mindfull of my benefite, then of your own iopardie. Come in fauour againe with mee with that fidelitie I am reconciled vnto you. Except those things which were brought in euidence had been debated and tryed to the vttermost, my dissimulation might haue bene suspected in this matter. Better it is therfore to be cleared in ielousie, and thinke that no man can be acquitted, except he be first detected. Thou Amintas pardon thy brother, and let that be a token of thy heart reconciled vnto mee.

This done, the king dismissed the assemblie, and sent for Ptoledamas, whom of all men Parmenio loued best, accustomed alwaies to stande next him in battaile. And though the clerenes of his conscience did assure him to come boldlie: yet after hee was commaunded to bring forth his brethren being but young, and unknown to the king, his confidence was turned into feare, and began to doubt, imagining in his minde rather such thinges as might hurte him, then by what meanes he was thus circumuented. In the

the meane season the garde which had com-
mandement thereunto, brought forth his brethren.
When the king saw Polidamus pale for feare,
he called him neere, and commaunding all men
apart, said vnto him.

Through Parmenio his treason wee were all in
daunger, but chiefly I and thou, whome vnder colour
of frendship hee deceiued moſte: In the purſuing and
punishing of whom, ſee howe much I truſt thy fidel-
tie: For I am determined to vſe thee as a miniſter
therin, and whileſt thou goeſt about it, thy brethren ſhall
be thy pledges. Thou ſhalt go into Medea, and beare
my letters to my officers, writte with mine own hand.
It is neceſſary haſte bee made, that the ſwiftneſſe of the
fame may be prevented. I will that yee come thither in
the night, and that the tenour of my writing be execu-
ted the day after. Ye ſhal cary letters likewise to Par-
menio, one from mee, and another written in the name
of Philotas. I haue his ſignet in my cuſtodie. So
that when Parmenio ſhall ſee both you, and the letter
ſealed with his ſonnes Ring, hee ſhall be without ſuſ-
pition.

Polidamus being thus deliuered of feare, pro-
miſed his diligence a great deale more earneſt-
ly then it was required. When Alexander ſawe
his promptnes in the matter, he both comended
his good will, and rewarded him accordingly.
And Polidamus chaunged his owne apparell,
and tooke other after the Araby faſhion, with
two men of the ſame countrey to be his guides,
for whoſe truth their wiues and children were
pledges in the meane ſeaſon. And ſo they paſſed
on Camelles thorough ſuch places as were de-
ſerte for lacke of moyſture, and within eleuen
dayes came to their iourneyes ende, before
any

any knewe of their comming. Polidamus then
tooke again his Macedon apparell, & in the dead
of y night came into Cleanders lodging, which
had the chiefe authoritie there, nexte onto Par-
menio. When Cleander by his letters vnder-
ſtoode the kinges pleaſure, Polidamus hauing
more letters to deliuer like wiſe to others, agre-
ed with the ſpring of the daye to go altogether vnto
Parmenio. As they were going, tidings came
to Parmenio of Polidamus arriuall, who re-
ioicing both for the comming of his frende, and
for the deſire hee had to knowe of the kinges e-
ſtate (the rather becauſe he had receiued no let-
ter from him of a long ſpace) commaunded Po-
lidamus to be ſought out. The houſes of that
Countrey haue large backſides, and pleaſant
Orchards full of trees, beeing the chiefe delight
of Princes, and great Lordes there. The Capi-
taines which had receiued commandement by
the kinges letters to kill him, came to Parme-
nio, walking vnder the ſhadowe of the trees, be-
ing agreed amongst themſelues to execute the
thing, when hee ſhoulde beginne to reade his
letters. So ſoone as Parmenio had eſpyed
Polidamus comming a farre off, with a ſemb-
launt of ioy (as it appeared by his countenance)
ranne to embrace him, and after ſalutation
giuen eche to other, deliuered the kinges letter.
As he was vncloſing it, he demaunded of Poli-
damus what the king intended to do: you ſhall
know y (quoth he) by y contents of your letters.
Which

Which when hee had read: I perceiue (quoth Parmenio) that the king purposeth a voiage against the Arochians: surely he is a painefull prince, & neuer in rest. But now after so much glorie wonne, it were time for him to take his ease, and haue consideration of his health & sauegarde. And then he reade the other letter written in the name of Philotas, whereat hee was ioyfull as appeared by his countenance. That Cleander stabbed him with his sword into the side, and after striking him ouer the throte, the residue thrust him in as he laye dying. But Parmenios men which stood nere at hand, and sawe the murder, whereof they knewe not the cause, ran into the campe, and with their troublous tidings, set all the souldiers in an vprize. They ran streight to harnesse, and clustring together about the place where the murder was done, made an exclamation, that except Polidamas and the other doers of that dede were deliuered to their handes, they would ouerthrowe the wall, and make sacrifice to their dead Capitaine with the bloud of the offenders. Cleander willed the chiefe of them to be let in, and recited the kinges letters, wherein was contained the treason of Parmenio intended against him, with a request to them to see him reuenged. Then immediately vpon the kinges pleasure known, the sedition was appeased, but the grudge was not ridde out of their harts. The most parte departed, sauing a few, which required instantly

that

that at the least they might be suffered to burie the bodie. It was denied them long by reason of Cleander, who dreaded the kinges displeasure: but because they beganne to ware more earnest, intending to auoide matter of sedition, he cut of the head, which he sent the king, and left them the body to burie. This was the end of Parmenio, a noble man both in warre & peace: many thinges had he done valiantly without the king, but the king without him neuer did any thing worthy of praise. He serued and satisfied in all affaires a king moste happy and fortunate, and being lxx. yeeres of age, executed the office of a Capitaine as liuely as if he had bene young in yeeres, & pretermitted not often times the partes of a common souldier. He was quick in counsaile, doughty of dede, welbeloued of all princes, but most deere to the common sorte of souldiers. Yet whether those thinges did mooue him to couet to be king, or els caused him to be suspected thereof, it is yet doubted. For whether the wordes that Philotas spake, when he was overcome with the paines in his last torments were true or false, or els that he sought an end of his paine by accusing himselfe falsly, it was much doubtfull, seeing there was nothing proued at such time as the matter was most fresh in memoery. Such as Alexander perceiued to grudge at the death of Philotas, were separated from the reste of the army, and put into one Cohort vnder Leonidas their Capitaine, which

A.J.

in

In times past was of néere familiaritie wyth Parmenio: The king bare priuy displeasure against them, and therefore willing to proue the disposition of euery man, gaue warning throught out the army, that all such as would write into Macedonia, and haue their letters surely conueyed, should bring them to be caryed with such as he would send. Whereupon euery man did write frankly to their frendes such thinges as were in their harts. Some shewed themselves to be offended with the long warres: and some seemed to be well pleased. But all their letters were intercepted, as wel of such as commended the king, as of those that grudged at his doings. Wherefore hee willed such as by their letters disclosed themselves to be weary of the frauaile of the warres, for their reproch to be put in bād aparte from the reste. Whereby hee both gaue them occasion to shewe their hardinesse, and besides remoued the libertie of their tonges from the credulous eares of the reste. Which rash deuyle, as all other thinges, turned to the setting forth of the kinges felicitie. For in all extremities they shewed themselves the readiest, and the moste forward: and whylest they coueted to redeeme their reproch, their valiaunt doings could not bee hidden in so small a number separated by themselves. These thinges being ordred after this maner, he appointed a ruler ouer the Arians, and proclaimed his iourney against the Arasprians: which, by chaunging of their name, were

were called Cuergitās, since the time that they relieved Cyrus army with lodging and victuals being afflicted with colde and penury. It was the fifth day before he entered into their countrey, where he vnderstood that Satibarzanes which tooke Bessus parte was with a power of horsemen entered againe amongst the Arians. Hee sent against him Caranus and Crigius, and in their ayde Artabazus and Andromachus, wyth six thousand Greeke footemen, and six hundred horsemen. Alexander continued threescore dayes in setting order amongst the Cuergitans: vpon whom he bestowed a great summe of money, for the notable fidelitie they shewed towarde Cyrus: and leauing Amenides to bee their gouernour (who was Darius secretarie) he wente to suboue the Arachosians, which border vpon the Sea of Monte. The men of war that were vnder Parmenios rule, came then to Alexander, being six thousand Macedons, wyth two hundred of the Nobilitie, fve thousand Greeke footemen, and two hundred horsemen, which were the chiefest force of his power. To these Arachosians, Memnon was appointed lieutenant with iij. thousand footmen, and six hundred horsemen. Alexander from thence entered with his armye into a country not knowne to such as haue bordered vpon it: for the inhabitantes would not haue conuersation with any other people. They were called Paramisadans, beeing a rusticall kind of men, & most rude amongst all the barbarous

rous nations : the hardnes of the countrey had so indurated their dispositions. They lye moſte towards the colde ſouth pole, ioining with the Bactrians vpon the weſt, and bending towards the Indian Sea vpon the ſouth. They uſe to build their houſes of brick, and becauſe the land is full of barreine mountaines, and void of timber they make their whole houſes of the ſame, which beginning broad beneath, growing euer more narrowe towardes the toppe, and like the keeles of a ſhippe, whereas the holes be made aboue to receiue light. Such of their bynes and trees that bring forth fruit, as they wil preſerue from the violence of the colde, they couer them with earth during the winter ſeaſon, and when the ſnowe is vaniſhed away, they reſtoze them againe to the aire and to the ſunne. The earth was there couered with ſnowe frozen ſo harde, that there remained no ſigne of any birde or beaſt within the cuntrey. The aire beſides was ſo darke, that litle light appeared : but the earth couered as it were with a dym ſhadowe, men could ſcarſly diſcerne things very nere at hand. The army brought into this countrey deſolate of all cultuation of man, ſuffered all the diſcommodities and miſeries that might bee endured, both of hunger, colde, wearines, and deſpaire. There were many of them that dyed for colde : and the ſnow deſtroyed their ſeete : but ſpecially it periſhed many mens ſight. When they were wearied, and not able to trauaile any further, they

they laid themſelues down vpon y frozen ſnow, and hauing once left the mouing of their bodies which ſtirred in them their naturall heate, they were ſtreight waies ſo nummed for colde, that they could not riſe againe, till that they were liſt vp by their companions. And remedy was there none in this matter, but to compell them to go forwarde : for then by ſtirring of theſelues their naturall heate was reuiued, and they recovered againe ſome ſtrength. Such as recovered the cottages wherein the countrey men dwelled, were verie well reſreſhed. But the darknes was ſo great, that the houſes could not be other wiſe diſcerned then by the ſmoke. The inhabitants that had neuer ſene ſtraungers befoze amongſt them, when they beheld the armed men comming ſodeinly vpon them, were amazed for feare, and brought forth whatſoeuer they had, to ſaue their bodies from violence. Alexander went on his ſeete amongſt his men, raiſing ſuch as were lying, & relieuing ſuch as he ſawe afflicted with the colde, with his owne clothes. He was ſene one while in the forward, another while in the middeſt, and ſometime in the rewarde to the great trauaile of his bodie. At length he came to places better manured, where he reſreſhed his army with plenty of victualles, and there remayned in campe till ſuch tyme as all that were leſte behinde came vnto their fellows. When he went forwarde with his army to the mount Caucasus, which deuideth al Asia into

into two parts, For on the one side it stretcheth towards the sea of Cilicia, and on the other side to the Caspian sea, to the River of Araxes, and the desertes of Scythia. To this mount Caucasus, ther ioineeth another mountain called Taurus, next vnto it in bignes, which riseth frō Capadocia, and passing by Cilicia, closeth with the mountaines of Armenia. Out of these mountaines ioyning thus together as it were in one continuall rydge, all the Ryuers of Asia do descende. Some of them running into the Red sea, some into the Caspian and Hyrcanian sea, and other into the sea of Ponte. In xvij. dayes Alexander with his army passed the mount Caucasus, where in a Rocke that is ten furlonges in compasse, and foure in height, the antiquitie faigned that Prometheus lay bound. At the fote of this mountaine Alexander chose out a place to build a Citie, wherein he placed vy. thousand of the most auncient Macedons, and such other besides, whose seruice he would not vse any more in the warres, and called the same Alexandria. But Bessus that was put in feare with Alexanders celeritie, made sacrifice vnto the Goddes of his countrey, and according to the custome of those Nations, consulted with hys frendes, and his Capitaines, for the maintenance of the warres being at meate. And when they were well charged with wine, they extolled greatly their owne power, despising the rashnes of their enemies, and their small number. But chiefly

Bessus

Bessus was most arrogant in his wordes, who puffed vp with pryde by reason of the kingdome he had newly gotten by treason, and not master of his wittes, began to declare, howe that Darius by his follye had increased hys enemies same, who would needes fight with them in the streightes of Cilicia, when by retyring backe hee might haue drawne them (before they had bene ware) into deserte places, and there haue put Riuers and mountaines betweene his enemies and him, and amongst the same so inclosed them, that they could by no possibilitie haue fled away, and much lesse any resistance. Wherefore (he saide) hee was become of opinyon to retyre backe amongst the Sogdians, whereas the Ryuer of Oxus shoulde bee as a wall betwixte him and his enemies, till such time as he might assemble a strong power of the Nations thereabout: knowing very well that the Chorasmians, the Dahans, and Sacads, the Indians and Scythians, inhabiting beyond the River of Tanais, would come to his assurance: of whom there was none so lytle, that any Macedon with toppe of his heade could reach to hys shoulders. They are all in their drunkennesse assented to hym, assyrmyn that to bee the wisest waye. Where-uppon Bessus caused the Wyne to bee carped about plentifully to conquere Alexander vpon drinke. There was at that feast one Cobares a Medean, which in the Arte Magike (if it be an Arte, and not rather a deceit of

Uly.

some

Some baine man) was moze notable by his profession then by his knowledge, but other wise a moderate and an honest man. Hee making a preamble befoze his tale, saide: He was not ignorant howe much better and moze profitable it were to be obedient to others counsell, then to be a counsaile giuer. For such as be folowers of other mens deuises, are sure to haue no worse fortune then the reste: but such as be authours and perswaders of any matter, commonly prepare their owne perill, and therewith deliuered the cuppe he had in his hand, and proceeded thus.

The nature of man in this respecte maye bee called peruerse and euill, because euery one can see better in other mens matters, then in their owne. Their counsailes must needes bee alwaies full of perturbations, which take their owne aduise. For feare is impediment to some, desire vnto other, and to many the selfe loue of the thing they haue deuilled. I wil not speake of pride nor impute it vnto any man. Ye haue seene experience how euery one doth esteeme that thing onely to be best, which he himself hath inuented. The diademe of a king that you weare vpon your head is a great burde, which if it be borne moderately, the weight thereof wylloppresse the bearer. It is not fury can auayle in this case, but wise and prudent counsaile.

When he had spoken those wordes, he rehearsed a proverbe commonly vsed amongst the Bactrians, which is, that a ferefull Dogge doth barke moze then bite, and that the deepest riuers doth run with least noyse. Which things I haue rehearsed, because such prudence may appeere as remayned amongst the barbarous.

As

As hee talked after this manner, such as heard hym wondered to what ende this tale woulde come. When he beganne to shewe his aduise, which was moze profitable to Bessus the grate full.

Alexanders celeritie (quoth hee) that hee is come in maner to the entery of your court. He can remoue his army befoze you can remoue this table. You say that you will drawe your assistance from the Riuier of Tanais, and that you will put riuers betwixt you & your enemies. I would knowe if he be not able to followe, wheresoeuer you shall flie. If the way be indifferent, it must needes bee most easie and assured to the victour. And though you think feare wil make much speed, yet hope is moze swift. It were therefore mee thinkes expedient, to procure the fauour of him that is the mightiest, and yelde your selfe vnto the stronger. Howe soeuer he shall accept it, your fortune is moze like to bee better that way, then to remaine still an enemy. Consider that you possesse an other mans kingdome, and therefore ye may the better departe therewithall. For ye cannot bee a iust king, til you receiue the kingdome of him that is able to giue it, and take it away. This is a faithfull counsaile, wherfore it is not necessary to delay the executio thereof. The horse that is of noble courage will bee governed with the shaddowe of a redde. But the dull beast is not pricked forwarde with the spurre.

Bessus that was fierce of nature, and well set forwarde with drinking, became in such a surfe with his wordes, that he could scarcely be holden by his frends from the sleaing of Cobares, for he pulled out his sworde to haue doone the deed, and departed out of the feast in a great rage. But Cobares in this hurric escaped away and came vnto Alexander. Bessus had eight M.

Bactrian

Bactrians attending vpon him: Which so long as they iudged that by intemperatenes of the ayre in those partes, the Macedons would rather haue gone into India, then into Bactria, were very obedient at commaundement. But when they vnderstood that Alexander was coming towarde them, every one shrunke away and forsooke Belus. Then he with a bande of his familie which were yet faithfull vnto him, passed the Drus, burning such boates as caryed him ouer, because that y^e same should not serue his enemy in following him, and assembled a new power amongst the Scythians. Alexander as it hath bene saide before, passed the Mount Caucasus: but for lacke of corne his army was brought in manner to the extremitie of hunger. In steed of oyle they were faine to anoynt themselves with a iuice which they wyng out of Sesamia: but every measure thereof called Amphora, was sold for ccc. deniers: every like measure of honye for cccc. and of wine for ccc. & yet of the same was very little to bee gotten. They haue in that cuntrey certeine vessels called Sire, which the inhabitantes vse to hyde so priuily, that they cannot be found except they be digged for within the earth. The countrey men burye their corne after that maner, for want whereof the souldiers were faine to liue with herbes, and such fysh as they caught in the Ryuers. But that kynde of foode wanting also, they were enforced to slea their cariage beastes, and

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liued with the flesh of them till they came into Bactria, the nature of the soyle of which countrey is diuers and of sundry kinds. Some place is plentifull of wood and vynes, and abundant of pleasaunt fruyte, the grounde fatte, well watered, and full of springes. Those partes which be moste temperate are sowed with corne, and the rest be reserued for feeding of beastes. But the greatest parte of that countrey is couered ouer with barreine sandes, and wythered vp for want of moysture, nourishing neither man, nor bringing forth fruite: But with certein winds that come from the Sea of Ponte, the sande in the plaines is blownen together in heapes, which seme a farre off like great hylles, whereby the accustomed wayes be so dammed, that no signe of them can appeere. Wherefore such as do passe those playnes, vse to obserue the starres in the night, as they doe which sayle the Seas, by the course of them directing their iourney. The nightes for the more parte be brighter then the dayes: wherefore in the day time the countrey is wyld and unpassable, when they can finde neyther any trace nor way to go in, nor marke nor signe whereby to passe, the starres being hidden by the mist. If the same wynde chaunce to come duryng the time that men be passing, it ouerwhelmeth them with sande. Where the countrey is temperate, it bringeth forth great plenty both of men and horse: So that the Bactrians may make twenty thousand horsemen.

Bactria

Bactria which is the head Citie of that region standeth vnder a mountaine called Parapanis : the ryuer called Badras runneth by the walles, whereof bothe the Citie and the Countrie take their names. Alexander lying there in campe, receiued aduertisement out of Grece, howe the Lacedemonians, and the whole countrie of Peloponese had rebelled against him. For they had not lost the battail at such time as the messengers were dispatched that brought the newes of their reuolt. In the necke of this euill tidings there came another present terror, which was that the Scythians inhabiting beyonde the riuer of Tanais, were comming to ayde Wessus. And at the same time tydings came to him of the battaile that Caranus and Crigius had fought with the Arians, where Satibarzanes that was newelie reuolted being chiefe of the countrey, seeing the battaile to remaine equall on bothe sides, ridde into the fore front, and plucked of his helmet, forbidding any of his side eyther to cast Darte, or strike stroke, and there made a challenge to fight hande to hande, if anie man durst come forth and proue his strength. Crigius Captaine to the Macedons was a man stricken in yeeres, but yet not inferiour to anie young man, either in stoutnes of stomacke, or strength of bodie, who could not beare the proude arrogancie of Satibarzanes, but stepped forwardes, and plucking of his helmet likewise, shewed his hoare heare. The

day

day is come (quoth he) that I will shew either by the victorie, or by my honest death, what kinde of men Alexander hath to his friends and his souldiers: and without moze wordes made towardes his enemye. It coulde not be iudged but that bothe Armies had stayed their handes by appointment. For they gaue backe immediately on bothe sides, to let them haue free scope, eche partie standing in expectation what should become of the challengers, for they coulde not but thinke themselves partakers of their aduenture. Satibarzanes first charged his staffe, which Crigius auoyding by bending his heade aside, but he in the middes of his race, strake the other with his speare through the throte, so that it came forth againe at his necke. Satibarzanes vpon that stroke fell from his horse, but yet made resistance till such time as Crigius plucked the speare out of the wounde, and thrust it againe into his mouth: who to rid himselfe out of the paine, furthered his enemies stroke. The Arians seeing their Captaine slayne, whome they had followed rather of necessitie then of their owne free willes, called to remembraunce Alexanders benefites, and yeelded themselves to Crigius. Alexander reioysed much of the good successe of this matter, doubting greatlie the Lacedemonians: but hee bare out their rebellion stoutlie, saying that they durst neuer disclose their meaning, till they knewe he was come to the confines of India. Alexander ha-

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uing remoued hys campe, and going forwarde
in the pursuite of Bessus, Curigius met hym,
presenting the spoile of his enemy, as a memo-
rie of his victorie. Thereupon he committed the
rule of Bactria to Artabazus, where with a ga-
rison he left his cariage, and wyth a power that
was light to iourney, entered into the desertes
of the Sussitanes, conueyghing his Armye by
nyght. In the want of water (that hath bene
declared before) desperation moued them to
thirst before they had desyre to drynke. For by
the space of foure hundred furlonges, they found
no water at all. The vapour of the Sunne bee-
ing in the sommer season, did so burne the sand,
that when it began to waxe hotte, it starcheth
all things as it had bene with a continuall fire.
And then the light somewhat obscured by a
myste that rose out of the earth by the immode-
rate heate, caused the playnes to haue apper-
raunce of a mayne Sea. Their iourney in the
night seemed tollerable, because their bodyes
were somewhat refreshed with the dewe and
the colde of the morning. But when the daye
came, and the heate rose, then the drought dry-
ing vp all the natural humors: both their mou-
thes and their bowels were enflamed for heate.
Then their hartes fayled, and their bodies faint-
ed, being in case that they could neither stande
still, nor passe forwarde. A fewe y were taught
by such as knewe the countrey, had gotten wa-
ter, which refreshed them somewhat: but as
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the heate increased, so their desyre grewe again
to drinke. When there was no remedy but to
giue among the souldiers all the wine and oyle
that remained in store. For drinke was so sweet
vnto them, that it toke away the feare of anye
thysse to come. But such as had gylled in grea-
dily the water that they get, became so heauie,
that they were neither able to beare theyr Ar-
mour, nor goe forwarde: so that they seemed
then moste happy that had gotten no water at
all: for such as had taken of it inordinatly, were
enforced by vomit to put vp the same again. As
Alexander carefull in this calamitie stode with
his friends that were perswading of him to haue
respede to himselfe, for that he onely, and the
greatnes of his heart should be reliefe vnto this
aduersitie: There came two souldiers, which
going before wyth such as had taken vp the
campe, had founde water, and were carying of
it in bottels vnto their sonnes, which were sore
afflicted for wante of drynke behinde in the Ar-
mye. When they sawe the king, one of them
opened his bottell, and filling a cuppe that hee
had, presented water to the kynge: who recey-
uing it at hys hande, demaunded to whom they
caryed that water: they sayde to their sonnes.
Then hee restored to him the cuppe againe full
as it was giuen him, and said: I wil not drinke
alone: for so little cannot bee deuided amongst
vs all. Make you haste therefore to cary to your
sonnes that you haue gotten with your trauaile

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But he trauielled so long, that before night he came to the ryuer Drus: The more part of the Armie, not able to follow for feeblenes, were left farre behinde: to the intent therefore that such as followed after, might knowe where the campe was become, he caused a fyre to be made in the top of an hill, and gaue order that when the valward had refreshed the selues with meate and drinke, they shoulde fill their bottels with water, and goe backe with the same to releue their fellows. The breath of such as druncke intemperatelie closed vp, and they dyed immediatlie: the number of whome was greater then euer Alexander lost in any battaile. But he would neither put of harneis, refresh himself with meate and drinke, nor ease his bodie: but stode in the way where his armie passed, not departing till the last man was come into the campe. He watched all that night, and passed it ouer in great trouble of minde. And the day that ensued brought no release of his care. For there were neither boates to passe the ryuer withall, nor he could make anie brydge, seeing there was no woode growing ne at hande. But at length he found out a deuise, wherevnto onelie necessitie did driue him. They toke beastes skinnes and stuffed them full of strawe, wherevpon they layde themselves, and so swome ouer the water. Such as first recovered the further side, stode in order of battaile till the rest were passed, by which meanes in sixe dayes he conueyed

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ouer his whole army. Having thus passed ouer the riuer of Drus, his purpose was to passe forwards in the pursuite of Bessus, till he vnderstode such things as had chaunced amongst the Sussians. There was one Spitamenes, whome Bessus chiefly honored of all his frendes. But there be no benefites that can stay a man giuen to perurie and falshode: which in him was the more tollerable, because he iudged no mischief so great for him that hath slaine his prince. For the reuenge of Darius was a faire colour to his offence: but it is to be thought, that his present fortune was more enuyed, then his doinges in time past hated. When it was knowne that Alexander had passed the Riuer of Drus, Spitamenes did associate with him in his enterprise, Dataphernes, and Catenes, whom Bessus specially trusted. They agreed to the matter more readily then he would desire them, and taking to them eight young men that were strong of personage, used this kinde of pollicie. Spitamenes repaired to Bessus, and getting him alone, enformed him that he had founde out how Dataphernes and Catenes had conspyred to deliuer him aliue into Alexanders handes, whereas (he saide) hee had preuented them whilest they were about their purpose, having taken them both, and put them faste in prison. Bessus then thinking himselfe much bounden to him for so great a good turne gaue him many thanks. And for the desire hee had to bee reuenged of his ene-

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mies, willed Spitamenes to bring them to his presence. He caused their handes to bee bounde behynde their backes, and to be brought by such as were priuy to their confederacie. When they came in Bessus presence, he behelde them with a fell countenance, and rose vp to haue stricken at them. But they leste their counterfeiting, and streight wayes enclosing Bessus about, bounde him strugling in bayne, and pulled the Diademe from his head, tearing his garment from hys backe, which sometime belonged to his Prynce whom he had slayne. When he saw hymselfe in this case, he confessed that the Gods had rightfully reuenged his treason, and perceived plainly by the plague that they sent him, that both they fauoured Darius, & were friends to Alexander, whose enemyes euermore preferred his victorie. It is uncertaine whether the multitude would haue assisted Bessus, or no: but that Spitamenes had deuised the thing to be done by Alexanders appointement, whereby he put them in feare, being yet doubtfull of minde, and set Bessus vpon an horse, wherupon he brought him vnto Alexander. He in y meane season had chosen out nine hundred, such as by reason of their age were not meete for the warres, and gaue to euery horseman twoo talentes, and to euery footeman thre thousande denvers. That done he dispatched them home, and gaue thanks vnto the rest, because they promysed to continue with hym till hee had brought hys

warres

warres to an ende. Bessus was presented vnto him at a lyttle towne, whereof the inhabytors bee called Branchidans: whiche in tymes past by the commaundement of Perres, when hee came out of Grece, were brought from Miletum and placed there, because that in his fauour they had violated a Temple called Dydynia. They had not altogether forgotten their countrey customes, but had mixed their tongue, which by little and little were fallen from their owne language, and yet had not attayned the countrey speech. They receyued the king with great ioye, yeelding themselves and their Citie vnto his will. Wherupon he called vnto him the Miletians, that serued him in his warres (who bare an auncient hatred against the generation of the Branchidans) and put in their hands to determine whether they would saue them for y cuntry sake, or els destroy them for the iniury they had done in times past. But when the Miletians coulde not agree in opinion, he said he would order the matter himselfe. The nexte daye when the Branchidans came to meete him, he returned them all againe into the Citie, and commaunded hys footemen to enclose the Citie about, and entered with such as he appointed for the purpose, and by a token giuen put all to the sword, and spoiled the Citie as a receptacle of traytours. They being wythout Armour, and unprouyded, were slayne in euery place. For neyther the

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affinitie of their tongue, nor any prayer or intercession coulde mitigate their enemies crueltie, which after the destruction of the Towne did cast downe the walles to the ground, so that no memorie therof should remain. That done, they did not onely cutte downe the woodes wherein they vsed their sacrifice: but also plucked vp the trees by the rootes, that the ground might be left barreine as a deserte. If the same thinges had bene done against the very offenders, the reuenge might haue bene thought righteous: but to lay the fault of the predecessors vpon the posteritie, it might bee thought a cruell acte, seeing there was not anye of them that had euer scene Miletum, or done to Herres any kinde of pleasure. As Alexander remoued from thence towards the Riuer of Tanais, Bessus was brought before him, not onely bound as a captiue, but also spoiled of his garments: whome Spitamenes led in a cheine put about his neck: a pleasant sight to beholde, as well to the barbarous, as to the Macedons. When Spitamenes was come with him into Alexanders presence, he said.

I haue brought heere vnto you the killer of his own maister, after the same maner that he himselte gaue the example: wherein I haue both reuenged Darius that was my king, and you also that nowe haue got the soueraigntie. Let Darius open his eyes, & rise fro death to behold this sight, that was unworthy of such an end and worthy to receiue such a comfort as this is.

After that Alexander had giuen Spitamenes thanks, he turned himselte vnto Bessus, & said:
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What beastly woodnes moued thee to take thine own Prince prisoner, and afterwards to kill him, hauing so well deserued of thee: of which thy doinges thou hast receiued sufficient rewarde by vsurping the counterfeite name of a king.

He had no hart to make aunswere, nor excuse his offence, sauing that he saide: he tooke vpon him to bee king, because he might deliuer him possession of the countrey, which thing if he had omitted, some other he said had tooke it in hand. Then Alexander called for Dratres Darius brother, whom he had placed about his person, and committed Bessus to his keeping, to the intent he should cut off his eares and his nose, & hange him vpon a crosse, causing his owne menne to shote him through with arrowes, & so preserve his bodie that byrdes should not touch him. Dratres promised to performe all the reste, sauing the keeping away of the byrdes, which for his desire he had to set forth Catenes cunning, affirmed that none could so well keepe them awaye as he, who did shote so assuredly, that he coulde stryke the byrdes flying in the ayre. And though it was a cunning not so much to bee marueiled at in a nation so expert in shooting: yet was it greatly wondered at of such as did beholde him, and was great honour vnto the doer. He gaue rewards to al such as were the bringers of Bessus, but he deferred his punishment, because he minded to put him to death in the same place where he slewe Darius. The Macedons in the meane season going a foraging without order,
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were ouerthrowne by the enemies y came running downe from the next mountaines. They tooke more then they did kill, and driuing their prisoners before them, retired againe to y mountaines. There were of them to the number of xx. thousand which accustomed to liue by theft, vsing stinges and bowes in their fight, whome whilst Alexander did besiege, and in a skirmish pressed forth with the foremost, he was stricken with an arrow in the midst of his leg, where y head sticke still. The Macedons that were sorrowfull and amazed for their kings hurt, caried him into his campe, of whose departure out of y felde his enemies were not ignorant, for they might behold all thinges from the mountaines. The next day they sent Embassadors vnto Alexander, whome he admitted to his presence, and vnsouling his wound, whereby he might dissimule the greatnes thereof, shewed his leg vnto the. When they were commanded to sit downe, they said, that hearing of his hurt, they were as sorrowfull for it as his owne subiectes, which should well be known: for if they could find out the person that did the dede, he should be deliuered vnto his handes: they could not (they saide) iudge them but Sacrileges, y would fight with Gods, of whose vertue they supposed him to be, and therefore were determined to reelde themselves. Therupon he gaue vnto them assurance, and receiuing againe his men that were taken prisoners, admitted them as his subiectes.

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That done he removed his campe, and was caried in a fote litter: for the bearing wherof the horsemen and footemen contended together. The horsemen alledged it to be their office, because the king accustomed to fight amongst them. And the footemen argued for their parte, that in so much as they vsed to carie the hurt souldiers, they thought no reason their office should be taken from them, chiefly when y king should be caried. Alexander therefore in so great a contention of both parts, thought it a difficult matter to giue sentence, because the iudgement should bee greuous to them that should bee put from the office, and therefore ordered that they should carie him by course. From thence the fourth day he came vnto a citie called Maracanda, the walles whereof were lxx furlongs about, but the Castle was without any wall: he set a guarrison in the Citie, and then burned and destroyed the countrey thereabouts. Embassadors came vnto him thither from the Scythes called Auians, which had bene free since the tyme that Cyrus was amongst them: but yet they shewed themselves then readie to be at his commaundement. They were knowne to be moste righteous people of all the barbarous nations, as men that neuer vsed to make war but when they were prouoked, whose moderation & temperance in vsing of their libertie, made the inferiours equall vnto the superiours. Alexander receiued them gently, and sent Penidas a frende

King.

of

of his to those Scithes that inhabited within Europe, to forbid them to passe the riuer of Tanais without his appointment: Who had also a secret commission to view the situation of the countrey, and to visite those Scithians that inhabited about Bosphorus. He willed him besides to choose out a place vpon the brinke of Tanais, whereas he might build a citie, to remaine as a fortreffe for the subduing of those people that he intended to visite. But this deuise was delayed by the rebellion of the Sogdians, who had also drawne the Bactrians to their parte. There were of them seuen thousand horsemen, whose authoritie the reste followed: for the aduantage of whome Alexander caused Spitamenes and Catanes (the betrayers of Bessus) to be sent for, thinking by their meanes to bring the countrey againe to his obedience, and to subdue such as had made this stirre. But they which were iudged meete to staye the rebellion, and were sente for that intent, were the chiefe authors of all the reuolt. For they caused it to be noysed abroad that Alexander had sent for the Bactrian horsemen of purpose to kill them all: Which commission (they saide) being appointed to them, they would not execute, because they dyd thinke it ouer foyle an acte to commit against their countrey men. And for that cause could as ill beare then Alexanders crueltie, as in times past Bessus Treason. By this meanes when feare of death was put into their heades, they were

were easily stirred to armes, which befoze were sufficiently enclined of their owne minds. When Alexander was aduertised of their doyngs, hee willed Craterus to besiege Ciropolis. And hee himselfe wanne another city of that countrey by an assault that he gaue to it on all partes at once, and by a signe giuen, caused all the children to be put to death, making the rest a praye for the souldiers. This done, the citie was razed to the ground, to the intent that others by their example might be kept in obedience. There was a valiant people called Demacenās, who were determined to abide the siege, not onely for their honesties sake, but also for that they thought it most meete for their suretie. For the mitigating of whose wilfulnesse, the king sent to them fiftie horsemen to declare his clemencie towards such as submitted themselves, and how inexorable he was to such as he wanne by force. Their answer was, that they neither doubted of the kings promise, nor of his power: but after their answer was giuen, they lodged them without their walles, where as entertayning them with great chaire till it was the deepe of the night, they set vpon them, and slew them all. Alexander was no lesse moued with this matter, then the case required, but made an assault vnto y^e citie on all partes at once, which he found furnished in such wise, that he could not take it at y^e first attempt. Wherefore he appointed Megaleger and Perdicas to the siege thereof, which then

then were besieging of Ciropolis, mindyng to spare the same, because it was builded by Cyrus. For he had not so great admiration of any king that had reigned in those partes, as of him, & Semiramis: whose magnanimitie of minde, and fame of her actes, seemed to him to exceede all the rest: But the obstinate wilfulnes of the inhabitants, stirred by his wrath. For when he had taken the citie, he willed the Macedons to spoile it, which had great cause to be moued against them, and so returned againe to Delea-ger and Perdicas. There was not one city that did more valiantly abide the siege, then the same did: for both the hardiest of the souldiers were slaine, and the king was brought in great daunger, being stricken in the necke with a stone, so that his sight failed him, and was felled to the earth, so that he lost his sense. The army lamented, thinking he had bene dead, but he was invincible against those things, which put other men most in feare. For without tarying, he dressed his wound, returning to the fight, and after anger had stirred by the egernes he had of nature, he renewed the assault againe more fiercely then before. At length, a great piece of the wall was ouerthrowen by a mine, at the which he brake in, and put the whole city to sacke and to ruine. He sent from thence Menedemus with iij. thousand men, and viij. hundred horsemen, to the city of Paracanda, which Spitamenes had newly taken, and put from thence the garrison of

of the Macedons: Yet the citizens were not of this opinion, but when they saw they could not withstand him, it was of necessitie for them to agree to his will. Alexander in the meane season came to the riuer of Tanais, where he enclosed about with a wall so much ground as his camp did conteine, extending in compasse lx. furlongs, and named the same citie Alexandria. This thing was done with such expedition, that within seuentene dayes after the walles were by, the houses also were builded. And the whole was perfourmed in a very smal season, through the contention amongst y^e souldiers, who should performe his worke first, when the same was deuided into portions amongst them. Their prisoners (whose ransoms Alexander paid to their takers) were appointed to inhabite this Citie. The discent of whom, after so long tyme, are not yet worne out, such fauor hath bene shewed to them, in the memory of Alexander. The king of Scythia, whose Empire was then beyond the riuer of Tanais, iudging that the fortifying upon the riuers side, should be as a yoke to his necke, sent his brother Carcas with a great power of horsemen to defeate the fortification, and to remove away the Macedons from the waters side. That Riuer deuideth the Bactrians from the Scythians of Europe, and is the limite which parteth Asia and Europe asunder. But the countries that the Scithes inhabite, stretch as farre as Thracia, and lie betwixt

betwene the North and the Eaſt: ioining with Sarmatia, and poſſeſſing part of it. The countrey alſo that lieth beyond the riuer of Iſter is inhabited by theſe, their vttermoſt bounds ſtretching to Bactria, and to the further boundes of Aſia northwards, where as be wonderful great woods and wilde deſerts. But ſuch of them as bounded neere vnto Tanais and Bactria, lacked not much the ciuilitie of other nations. This being the firſt time that Alexander had to doe with theſe people, when he ſawe that then he had to enter into a warre, for the which he was not provided, his enemies riding by and downe in his ſight, and he diſeaſed of his wound, ſpecially not hauing the vſe of his ſpeech, which failed much by reaſon of his long abſtinence, and the paine in his necke: called his friends to counſell, and declared vnto them that he was not troubled with any feare of his enemies, but with the iniquitie of the tyme, the Bactrians rebelling, and the Scythians prouokynge him, when neither he was able to ſtand vpon the ground, ſtrong enough to ride on horſebacke, or in caſe to giue aduiſe or exhortation to his men. In conſideration therefore of the doubtfull danger he ſaw himſelfe wrapt in, he accuſed y gods, complaining y he was the inforced to lie ſtill as a ſtocke, whoſe ſwiftneſſe before time none was able to eſcape. The matters grew ſo great, that his owne men beleued hee had counterfeited his ſickenneſſe for feare. And therefore he which ſince

ſince the ouerthrow of Darius had left conſultation with the deuiners and prophets, turned himſelfe againe to the vanitie and ſuperſtition of man, willing Ariſtander (to whome he was addicted in beliefe) that he ſhould try out by ſacrifice what his ſucceſſe ſhould be. The cuſtome of them which were called Aruſpices, was to conſider the intrailles of the beaſtes without the king, and to make report to him of their ſignification. In the meane ſeaſon whiles they were ſearching ſecrets that way, he willed Epheſtione, Craterus, Triſtius and other his friends to draw neere about him, leaſt by ſtraining of his voyce, he might breake out his wound agayne, and ſaid thus vnto them:

The danger I am in, hath cauſed the tyme to ſerue better for mine enemies, then for me: neceſſitie I ſee chiefly in the warres to goe before reaſon. For it is ſeldome giuen to men to chule their owne tyme. The Bactrians be reuolted, vpon whoſe ſhoulders yet we ſtand, purpoſing to try what courage we be of, by our behauiour towards the Scythians. If we leaue off with doubtful fortune, and meddle not with them, which of their owne mindes haue prouoked vs: we ſhall at our returne be had in contempt of them whom we intend to viſite. But if we ſhall paſſe the riuer of Tanais, and by the deſtruction of the Scythians, and ſhedding of their blood, ſhew our ſelues inuincible e- uery where, who wil then doubt but that Europe wil lie open, and giue obedience to vs being victors: hee is deceiued that doeth meaſure by any diſtaunce the boundes of the gloꝝy we intend to paſſe. There is but one riuer that letteth vs now for bringynge of our power ouer into Europe, which if we ſhall bying to paſſe, what an eſtimation ſhall it be for vs whiles wee be ſubduing of Aſia, to ſet by the monumentes of our victories as it were in a new world, ioyning ſo ſone together

together with one victorie the thing that nature seemeth to haue deuided with so great distance: but if we shall stay neuer so litle and giue ground, the Scythians will then come after vs, and pursue vs in the taile. We there no more but we that haue passed riuers: there be many inuentions yet remaining amongst our selues, whereby we haue gotten victories. But fortune of the warre doth teach pollicie to such as be ouercome: we haue shewed a president of late how to swimme ouer bottles: which thing if the Scythians cannot doe, the Bactrians shal teach them. It is but the power of one nation that now cometh against you, all the other yet stand in a stay to vnderstand of our doyngs. So that by eschewing battell, we shal nourish warre, & be compelled to receive those blowes which lie in vs to giue to other. The reason of my aduice is manifest. But whether the Macedones will suffer me to vse myne owne disposition I doubt, because that since I receiued this wound, I haue not ridden on horsebacke, nor gone on foote. If you wil follow me my friends, I am whole: I gaue them strength enough to endure these things. And if the ende of my life be at hand, wherein can I spend it better?

These wordes that he spake, were vttered with a broken and weake voyce, so that they could scarcely be heard of such as were next him. But when his meanyng was perceined, all that were present went about to fray him from so rash an enterpryse. But Crigius wrought chiefly in the matter, which perceiuing that his authoritie could not preuaile against the kings obstinate minde, attempted to worke him by religio, which he iudged of greater force. For he declared that the gods were against his determination, which had signified great perill to ensue, if he passed the Riuer. He

said

said he had vnderstood that thing by Aristander, who told him at his coming into the pavilion what he had perceined in the beastes intrails. Alexander vpon his wordes was wonderfully troubled both with anger and shame, when he saw the secrets of the religion brought to light, which he thought to haue kept secret to himselfe, and therefore caused Crigius to goe aside, and Aristander to be called in vnto him, whom he beheld in the face, and said,

I seme to thee rather a priuate man then a king: I commanded thee to make sacrifice, and thou hast declared the signification thereof to other, and not to me. For Crigius by the report knoweth & priuies pertaining to me: But sure I iudge, that through his owne feare, he deuised an interpretation of himselfe. Therefore let me heare of thine owne mouth, what thou hast found in the intrails, to the intent thou shalt not deny that thou hast spoken.

Aristander thereupon was amazed and looked pale, not able to answer one word for feare. But at length the same feare that made him hold his peace, pricked him forwards to speake, least the prolonging of the kings expectation myght prouoke him to further wrath, answered:

I sayd (quoth he) there was in the enterpryse great daunger and difficultie: but yet that your attempt should not be in vaine. There is nothing that I haue perceined by my science troubleth me so much, as the loue I bare to you wardes: for I both consider your infirmitie, and what a moment consisteth in your owne person, fearyng you should not be able to endure the thinges that fortune is disposed to giue vnto you.

Then

When Alexander heard him ſpeake after that maner, he willed him to haue confidence in his felicitie, to whom fortune had granted glory in greater thinges, and thereupon diſmiſſed him: Afterwardes as the king was debating with ſuch as he conſulted with befoze, by what means he ſhould paſſe the riuer: Ariſtander came amongſt them, affirming that he had found the intrail contrary to that he did befoze, with as likely ſignes of good ſucceſſe, as any that euer he ſawe, ſhewing them as great cauſes to reioyce, as he did befoze to feare. But immediatly hereupon, Alexander receiued newes that much appeared the continuall felicitie he was wont to haue in all his proceedings. Menedemus beyng ſent (as it hath bene ſaid befoze) to beſiege Spitamenes, the author of the Bactrians rebellion: When he vnderſtood of his enemies commyng, both in auoiding to be enclosed within walles, and truſting beſides to take ſome aduantage of the Macedons, laid an embuſhment to entrappe them. Where was a woode through the which they ſhould paſſe very apt for y^e purpoſe, where he laid the Dahans, whoſe cuſtome was to cary two armed men vpon one horſe, from whence they ſhould leape downe by courſe. And by reaſon the ſwiftnelle of the footemen was little inferior to the horſemen, they troubled greatly the order of the horſemens fight. Spitamenes gaue order to them, that when their enemies ſhould enter into the wood, they ſhould enuiron

them

them on all ſides, which when they performed according to their appointment: Menedemus ſeing himſelfe enclosed on all partes, and not equall in number vnto his enemies, reſiſted a great while, crying out to the ſouldiours, that there remained no hope to them being intrapt after that maner, but by making ſlaughter vpon their enemies to receiue the comfort of an honeſt death. Menedemus rode vpon a ſtrong horſe, charging oft tymes vpon his enemies, whereby he brake their order, and made great ſlaughter, till ſuch tyme that he being laied at on all partes, receiued many wounds, and fainted for want of bloud. When he exhorted Hiſpides that was one of his friendes, to leape vpon his horſe and eſcape away, and with that word he ſwounded and fell to the ground from his horſe. Hiſpides might haue got away, but after he had loſt his friend, determined there to dye, taking no other care but how to ſpend his lyfe without loſſe of his enimies. Wherefoze he put his ſpurre to his horſe, and ran in amongſt the, where he fought notably, and at length was ſlaine. When the reſt ſaw this ouerthrow, and loſſe of their captaine, they recouered an hill where Spitamenes did beſiege them, thinking to ſubdue them for want of vitaille. There were ſlaine in the battel 2000. footemen, & 300. horſemen, Which miſadventure Alexander wth great pollicy kept ſecret, commanding them that departed from the field, vnder paine of death not

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to

to publish this matter abroad. But when hee could not beare it out any longer, to shew a countenance contrary to his heart, he went alone to his pavilion which he had set of purpose upon the rivers side. Where he waked all the night, devising with himselfe what he was best to do. And diuers tymes he lifted vp his tent to behold the fires in his enemies campe, thereby to coniecture their number. When the day appeared, he put on a corselet, and came forth amongst the souldiers, being the first tyme they had sene him since he receiued his hurt. They bare such a veneration vnto their king, that with his presence onely, they put away the remembrance of the feare which caused them before to shrink, and reioiced so hartily, that when they saluted him, the teares distilled from their eyes, & earnestly required the fight, which before they had refused. He tooke order there amongst the that the horsemen, and such as were of the square battell of footemen, should bee caried ouer in boates, and that the light armed should swim upon bottles. Neither the matter required any more to be spoken, nor the king coulde not say much more by reason of his infirmitie. For the souldiers went about the matter with such good will and cheerefulness of mind, that within three dayes they had finished xij. M. boates. When all things were prepared in readines for their passage, there came xx. embassadours of the Scythians, riding by the campe, which required that it

it might be declared vnto y^e king that they had matter in commissiō to declare vnto him. When they were receiued into his pavilion, and commanded to sit downe, they fixed their looke continually vpon the kings countenance, whereby it was thought, that waying the greatnesse of his courage by his personage that they saw present, it appeared to them but small in respect of the same they heard of him. The wits of y^e Scythians be not rude and without knowledge, as other barbarous people be. For it is sayde that many of them attaine to such learning as is possible for a nation being alwayes in exercise of warres. Whose wordes spoken vnto Alexander be left in memory: which though they differ from the maner of vs that happened in more ciuill tymes, and framed our selues to a more humanity: yet the fidelitie of the matter is not to be despised, though the phrase of their speech be not allowed. And therefore I shal declare vncorruptly the sayings which the eldest of those embassadors did speake after this maner.

If the gods had giue thee a body according to the insatiable desire of thy mind, the world should not be able to receiue thee, but shouldst touch the Orient with one hand, & the Occident with the other: which thing once obtained, thy care should be to become equal to y^e gods. Thus thou doest couet the thing thou art not able to compass. From Europe thou goest into Asia, & from Asia passest into Europe. It must come to passe that if thou overcome al mankind, thou must keepe war with woods & snowes, with riuers & wild beastes. What? art thou ignorant that trees doe growe till they be great, and then be plucked vp from the roote in a moment? He is

a foole that doth couet the fruit, and considereth not the heighth of the tree whereon it groweth. Take heed lest whyles thou doest labour to attaine to the toppe, thou fallest with the boughes which thou doest embrace. The Lion hath bene sometime the foode of smal birds, and the rust doth consume the iron. There is nothing so sure, that is not in danger of his inferiour. What haue we to doe with thee? We neuer touched thy countrey. It is not lawfull for vs that liue in the waste woodes to be ignorant what thou art, and from whence thou comest? We can neither be subiect to any man, nor desire to rule ouer any creature. And because ye shall not be ignorant of the state of our nation, we haue certaine gifts in proper vnto vs, the pike of Oxen, the plough, the speare, the bowe, and the bolle, which be the things that we vse both with our friends, and against our enemies. We doe giue vnto friends of the fruits gotten with our labour. With the bolle we sacrifice wine vnto the gods. With the bowe we strike our enemies a farre off, and with the speare nere at hand. After that sort we in tymes past ouercame the king of Scythia, and afterwards the king of Persia & Media, making the way open to vs into Egypt. But thou which doest glory, that art come to be a persecuter of theues, art a robber of all nations that thou comest amongst. Thou hast taken Lidia, possessed Syria enioyed Persia, & hast the Bactrians vnder thy power. Thou doest visite the Indians, and now stretchest forth thy rauenous handes vnto our cattell. Why doest thou couet that riches that causeth thee to be poore? Thou art the first of all men which with abundance hast prepared thy selfe hunger, and that with the more thou hast, the more greedy thou doest couet the things thou hast not. Doest thou not remember how long thou hast sticke about Bactria. And whyles thou goest about to subdue them, how the Sogdians begin to rebell? Thus warre doth growe vnto thee of thy victorie. For be thou neuer so great and puissant aboue any other, yet there be none that can endure to be gouerned by Strangers. Passe now Tanais, thou shalt perceiue what breadth it beareth, and yet thou shalt neuer ouertake the Scythians, whose pouerty is swif-

ter then thy army, carrying the spoile of so many nations. For when thou shalt thinke vs to be far off, thou shalt see vs within thy campe: With like swiftnesse we follow and flie away. I heare that our desertes be scorned by the Greeke prouerbs, we couet rather those desertes & places inhabited, then Cities & plentifull countries. Therefore hold thou thy fortune fast: for she is slipper and cannot be kept against her will. Follow thou the counsel that is good, specially whyles the time doeth serue. Put a bridle to thy felicitie, and thou shalt gouerne it the better. We say that fortune is without fete, and that she hath onely handes and winges: but when she putteth forth her hand, she will not suffer her winges to be touched. If thou be a god, then giue benefites vnto mortall men, and take not away the commodities they haue already. If thou be a man, consider alway thine owne estate. It is foolish to remember those thinges, which cause thee to forget thy selfe. Such as by warre thou makest thy enemies, by peace thou mayest make them thy very friends. The most firme friendship is amongst them that be equall, and they seeme equall, which haue not yet made any triall of their force. Take heed thou take them not for thy friends, whom thou mindest subdue and bring to subiection. There is no friendship betwene the Lord and the slaue: and in peace the lawe of armes is obserued. Thinke not that the Scythians do confirm their friendship with any othe. For they thinke they sweare in keeping of their sayth. The custome of the Greeks is to iustifie their doings by calling their gods to witnes: But we acknowledge religion to consist in the sayth it selfe. They which doe not their due reuerence to men, deceiue the gods. Thinke not those friends to be necessary vnto thee, of whose good will thou shalt neede to doubt. Thou mayest vse vs as keepers both of Europe and Asia, for we should ioyne with Bactria, but that Tanais doth deuide vs, and beyond Tanais our dominion stretcheth as farre as Thracia, and the same is that Thracia confineth with Macedone. Consider therefore, whether it be necessary for thee or no, to haue vs as friends or foes to both thine Empires.

These were the Scythians wordes, to whom the king made answer :

That he would both vse his owne fortune, & their counsell which aduised him well. He would folow his fortune (he said) because he had great confidence in it, and other mens counsell, because he would do nothing rashly, nor vpon a sodaine.

Thereupon he dimitted the Embassadors, and embarked his army in the boates he had prepared. In the forepartes of the boates he set such as had targets, willyng them to kneele vpon their knees for their more sauegard agaynst the shotte of arrowes. And they were placed behinde them that had the charge of the Engines, who before and on both sides were enclosed with armed men. The rest that stode beyond the Engines beyng armed themselves, defended with targets such as rowed. The same order was also obserued in those boates that carried ouer the horsemen. The more part drewe their horses after them by the reines, swimming at the boates tayle, and such as were carried vpon trusses filled with strawe, were defended by the boates that rowed betwixt them and their enemies. Alexander with such men as he had chosen to bee about his person, first launched from the land, and directed his course towarde the further side. The Scythians came agaynst them with their horsemen in order of battaile, standing vpon the brinke of the further shoare to let their landyng: whose shew beyng a terrour to the Macedones, they had

had also another cause of feare in their passyng ouer, for the boate-masters were not able to keepe their course agaynst the force of the streame. And theouldours swaying too and fro, for the doubte that they had to fall into the water, troubled the Mariners in doyng of their office.

By reason whereof, the Macedones could not haue scape to cast their Dartes with any force, takyng more care how to place themselves out of perill, then for to annoy their enemies. Their Engines stode them in great steade, which seldome did shote in bayne agaynst their enemies that stode thicke before them, profering to resist their landyng. When the Scythians sawe them nere the shoare, they did shote an infinite number of arrowes into the boates, so that there was not in maner any target that had not many heads stickyng in it. At length the boates arriued at the land, then the target men did rise vpon their feete, and hauyng more scope and sure footyng, threw their dartes more certainly, and with greater force, whereby perceiuyng their enemies to shrink, and reyne backe their horses, they then leaped cheerefully vnto the lande, one exhortyng and encouraging another, and freely pursued them, inhome they sawe fall out of araye. By that tyme Alexanders horsemen which had assembled themselves in troupes, brake vpon their enemies, and put them to great disorder

In the meane season the rest beyng defended by them that were fighting, landed and prepared themselves to the battell. For Alexander letted not with stoutnesse of courage to supply the impotencie of his body. His voyce could not be heard, when he spake and exhorted his men (the scarre of his wound not yet closed) but all men might see him fighting. Wherefore euery one vsed the office of a capitaine in giuing exhortation vnto his fellowes, and ranne vpon their enemies without respect of their owne lyues. When the Scythians could not endure any longer the countenance, the force, nor the crie of their enemies, but beyng all on horsebacke, fled away vpon the spurres: Whome the king pursued 80. furlonges, notwithstanding that with great paine he endured his infirmitie. When his heart fainted, he commaunded his men that they should follow still in the chase so long as the day lasted: and not hauyng strength to sustaine any further trauaile, returned into his campe to rest hymselfe. The Macedones in their pursuit passed the boundes of Bacchus. In monument of whome, there were great stones set vp by equall distaunce, and high trees whose stockes were couered ouer with fuy. But no boundes coulde bee a staye to the Macedones beyng caried forwarde in their fury: for it was midnight before they returned againe to their campe, who hauyng killed many, and take a great number of prisoners, did drine before

before them a thousand eight hundred horses. There were slain of the Macedons lx. horsmen: of the footmen to the point of one hundred, and a thousand of them were hurte. This enterprize with the fame of the victorie falling in so good a season, kept the more part of Asia in obedience, which was at the point to haue rebelled. For they beleued that the Scythians were inuincible: Who being vanquished, they iudged no nations able to withstand the power of the Macedons. The Sacans therfore after this victorie sent their Embassadors vnto Alexander, offering themselves to come vnder his obedience. To the doing whereof they were not so greatly moued with feare of his force, as they were w reposte of the clemencie hee vsed towards the Scythians after he had discomfited them. For he deliuered home all their prisoners without raunsome, to witnes to the world that he made warre with those fierce nations to shew his power and his vertue, and not for any malice, nor to shewe his wrath vpon them. That was the cause that he so gently receiued the Embassadors of the Sacans: causing Cericimus to accompany them: who being a beautifull young man in the first flower of his youth, was in that respect in great fauour and familiaritie with Alexander. In personage he was like Cephession: but inferiour to him in pleasauntnes of speech. After this, Alexander giuing order to Craterus to followe him by smal iourneys with the greater

ter part of his army, he himselfe came to the Citie of Maracanda, from whence Spitamines that heard of his comming, was fled into Bactria. The king therefore making great iourneys foure daies continually, came into the place, whereas vnder the conduct of Menedemus hee had lost ij. M. footmen, & iij. C. horsemen. Whose bones he caused to be gathered together, celebrating their funeralles after his countrey maner. By that time Craterus with the Phalangie was come vnto the king: and to the intent he might punish with the sword all such as had rebelled: hee deuised his power into diuers partes, commaunding them to burne in euery place where they went, and to kil all the children. The countrey of the Sogdians for the more part is wast, by reason of the great desertes that stretch ouer thwart the countrey. The Riuer called Voltemetum passed in manner through the length of it, which runneth a space violently in a narrow channell, and then is receiued into a hole of the earth, from whence it goeth vnderneath the ground: whose course is manifest by the noyse of water that may be heard. And yet on all the ground vnder the which so great a Riuer doth run, there doth not appeere any moysture put forth. Of the captiues that were taken amongst the Sogdians, there were 30. of the most noble brought vnto Alexander: which vnderstanding by an interpreter, that by the kinges commandement they shoulde bee put to execution, began

gan as men in myzth to sing and daunce, and by a certeine lasciuious motion of their bodies, expessed a great ioyfulness of the minde. Alexander marueiling that they tooke their death with such stoutnes and magnanimitie of heart, called them vnto him, enquiring why they shewed so great a gladnes, when they had death before their face. They answered that if they had bene put to death by any, sauing by such a one as he was, they shoulde haue taken their death sorrowfully. But nowe seeing they shoulde be restored to their predecessors by a king that was a conqueror of all nations, they reioiced in their honest death, as the thing that all men shoulde wish and desire. The king then maruiling at their magnanimitie: I enquire of you (quod hee) if you can be content to liue, and become friends to him, by whose benefite you shall receiue life: they said, that as they were neuer his enemies but as they were prouoked by occasiō of y^e wars euen so, if he would make an experiment of th^e, rather by a benefit, then an iniurie, they would labour not to bee overcome in good will, nor in doing the thing that pertained to their ductie. They were asked what pledge they would laye of their promise. They said, their liues they had receiued shoulde be their pledge ready to be yielded againe, when it were required. Therin they brake no promise: for such of them as were returned home into their countrey, kept the people in good obedience: and foure of them that were

The seuenth booke

were appointed to be of the kinges garde, gave place to none of the Macedons in loue or affection towards their Prince. When he had ordered all thinges amongst the Sogdians, he left Peucolaus there with three thousand men of warre, and removed into Bactria: from whence hee commaunded Bessus to be caried to Echatan, there to suffer death for the killing of Darius. About the same time Ptholomeus and Menidas brought three thousand footmen, and a thousand horsemen of mercenary souldiers: and one Aleander came to him out of Licia with three thousand footmen, and five hundred horsemen. Asclepeodorus had leuyed the like number out of Siria. Antipater sent eight thousand Grekes amongst whome there were five hundred horsemen. When hee had thus increased his army with the supply of his newe power, he went about in euery place to quiet those stirres that had bene raised up by the rebellion. And hauing slaine them that were the authours & beginners thereof, the fourth day came to the Riuer of Drus, which being a water vnwholesome to be drunk (because it is euer troubled and full of mud) the Macedons fell to digging of welles: And when by digging deepe they could finde no water, a spring suddenly appeared in the kinges tent, which because it was not found at the first, they fained it to come by some miracle. Therewith the king was pleased, and contented men shoulde beleue that the same was sent by the gift of God.

When

When he passed the Riuers of Ochus and Drus, they came vnto a citie called Marginia, neere vnto the which hee chose out places for the building of sixe Townes: whereof he planted two towards the South, and foure towards the East: euerie one distant a small space from another, to the intent that their mutual assistance in time of neede should not be far to seeke. They were all situate vpon high hilles, as bridelles to keepe vnder those wilde nations. But now they haue forgotten their originall, and bee subiect to those they were wont to rule. The king hauing subdued all the rest, one rocke onely remayned, which Alimazes a Sogdian had taken with three thousand armed men, and furnished the same of victuals for two yeeres. The same Rocke was thirtie furlonges in height, and a hundred fittie about, being in all partes steepe and broken, hauing one streight path onely to passe vnto it. In the middle way to the top it hath a caue, which was narrow and darke in the entry: but by little and little it wared wider, and had more large lodgings within for a great multitude, and was besides so full of springs, that when they met together, they ranne down the Rocke lyke a great Riuer. Alexander beholding the strength of this place, and the difficultie to winne it, determined to depart from thence. But there entred suddenly into his hart a desire to wearie nature, and worke against her power. Yet before he would attempt the fortune of any siege, he sent Cophes the

the son of Artabazus, to perswade them to give it over. Arimazes vpon an assured trust of the strength of the place, answered in all things arrogantly, but specially in that he asked if Alexander could sie: Which words reported to the king, did put him in such a fury, y^e streightways he called for such as he vsed to consulte withall, declaring the pride & presumption of Arimazes, and after what maner he had scorned him. But shortly (he saide) he would deuise such a policie, that he would make him thinke the Macedons had winges. He requyred them therefore y^e out of the whole armye they would chose out and bring to him thre C. of the moste light young men which had been accustomed to driue beasts amongst the rockes and streight pathes of the mountaines: whereupon they brought such to the king, as both for lightnes of bodie, and hardines of hart were most meet for such a purpose: vnto whom he said.

My fellowes that bee of mine owne age, with you haue I woonne Cities that were inexpugnable, and haue passed the toppes of mountaines couered continually with snowe. With you I haue gone through the streights of Cilicia, and haue without wearinesse surmounted the violence of the colde: wherby I haue experienced of you, & you of me. The rocke which you see hath but one entrie, which our enemies do obserue, the rest they neglect. They keepe no watch but towardes our campe. If you diligently search, you shall finde some way to bring you to the top. Nature hath made nothing so high, but that it may bee attained vnto by the industrie of manne. In putting things in prooffe, whereof other haue dispeired, we haue gotten Asia into our possession. Deuise you the meanes to gette vnto

into the top, which when you haue taken, you shall giue a token to me by setting vp of some white cloth. You shall see mee then come forwards with my power, and turne the enemies from you towards me. He shall haue ten talents for a reward that doth recouer the top first, and he that getteth vp next, shall haue one lesse, and the like order shall be obserued with ten of the first. I am assured that you regarde not so much my liberalitie, as my sauour.

When they had heard the king speake after that maner, they imagined the thing woon, and departing out of his presence, prepared strong ropes and yron hookes which they might fasten to the Rockes, and so clymbe vp. The king brought them about the Rocke, where as it seemed least steepe and moste plaine to mount vpon, and in the seconde watch wylled them to passe forwardes wth good speede. They being furnished wth two dayes victualles, and armed onely with swords and speares, at y^e first wente forwardes without anye great difficultie. But when they came to the steepernesse of the Rocke, some tooke holde of the broken craggies to lyft vp themselves, and some fastening their hookes on the Rockes, did clymbe vp by the ropes. They were compelled to rest, and stay diuers times, and so consumed the day in trauaile and in feare. When they had passed manye difficult places, further difficulties alwayes appeared, the height of the rocke seeming to growe more and more. When they layed eyther of their holde, or of their footing, it was a miserable thing to see howe they

tell

fell do'wne headlong, shewing to the other by their misfortune an example what was likelie to come of them. Notwithstanding at length through all these difficulties they got vp vnto y^e top, where they all wearied with the trauaile of their continuall labour, & some with the hurts and maymes they had receiued, slept there all that night amongst the wilde and rough rocks, vnmindfull of the perill they were in. When it was day they wakened out of their dead sleepe, and beholding the valleyes vnderneath them, were ignorant in what parte of the Rocke so great a multitude of their enemies shoulde lye. But at length when they perceiued by y^e smoke in what place they were, they vpon the poynts of 2. spears set p the signe y^e was appointed the, & found then in their coming vp they had lost of their nūber xxxij. The king being careful, not so much for the desire he had to win the Rocke, as for to saue those whome he had sent to so manifest a daunger, stood all day beholding the top of the mountaine. And when darknes of the night toke away the prospect of the eyes, he departed to refresh his bodie. The next day before it was full light, he perceiued the white cloth set vp in the top of the rocke: but the varietie of the aire, and the sunne beginning to appeere, and yet hid caused him to doubt a while whether his sight had fayled him or not. But when it was full and open day, it appeared manifestly, and all doubt was remoued. When he called Cophes, by who

he

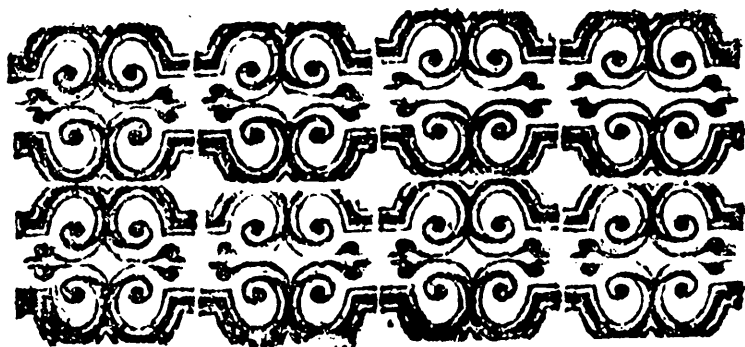
he had attempted their minds before, willing him once againe to exhort them to be better aduised. And if so be that in trust of their strength they would not submit themselves, that then he would shew to them the men that had taken y^e Rocke ouer their heades. When Cophes came thither, he began to perswade Armazes to giue by his strength, thereby to winne the kings fauour, and not enforce Alexander to stay in the siege of a Rocke, hauing so manye weighty assaieses in hande: But he found him more obstinate and proud then he did before, and wylled Cophes to depart and moue him no more in the matter. When he tooke Armazes by the hande, and requyred him to go with him out of y^e caue. When they were come whereas they might looke about, he shewed him those that were gotten to the top of the cragge, and scorning their pryde, asked of him whether Alexanders souldiers had gotten wings or no. By that time the Trumpets were blowne in the Macedons campe, and they might heare the alarme that was made in the army: which matter as many vaine and trifling thinges are wont in the warres to grow to great effect: so that was the cause that they yelded themselves. For feare so troubled them that they could not consider the small number that were ouer their heades, but called Cophes againe in great haste, who was departed away, and sent with him vnto Alexander 3. of y^e chiefe men authorized to yeld vp the

Z. 40

M. 168

The seventh booke

Rocke, with composition for to departe in saue
garde. But Alexander notwithstanding that he
doubted least his enemies discovering the few-
nes of his men, might put them to distresse: yet
trusting in the felicitie of his owne fortune, and
offended with the pryde of Arimazes, would a-
gree to no condition, but that they should yelde
simply. Arimazes thereupon dispayning more of
his estate, then he had cause, descended down to
the campe, with the chiefest of the nation that
were of kinne to him. All the which Alexander
caused to be scourged with rodde, and be cruci-
fied at the foot of the Rocke. The multitude that
yelded, with the money that there was taken,
were given in gift to the inhabiteurs of the
new Cities. And the rule of the saide
Rocke was committed to Ar-
bazus, with the charge
of the countrey
therabout.



THE EYGH T BOOKE OF QVIN-
tus Curtius of the Actes of the great
Alexander, King of Ma-
cedon.



Alexander hauing woonne thys
Rocke with greater fame then
glozie, because his enemies re-
mained in no place certeine, it
was necessary for him to sepe-
rate his power, and so deuyled
his army in to 3. partes. He gauz the charge of
the one part to Ephestion, to Cenon the other,
and toke the thirde parte vnto himselfe. His e-
nemies were not all of one opinion: for some of
them seeing their defence could not auaille, yel-
ded themselves before the fight, to whome hee
gaue the Cities, and the landes of those that
continued still his enemies. But the outlawes
of Bactria with eight hundred horsemen wa-
sted the villages of the Massagets. For the re-
dresse whereof Attinas gouernour of that coun-
tre, wente against them with three hundred
horsemen, not knowing that his enemies laye
in wayte for him: which laying their embusse-
ment in a wood adioyning to a great plaine, had
appointed a certeine to draw cattell, thereby to
drawe their enemies with greedines of the pray
with in danger of the embushment.

When Attinas men saw the dryuers of the cat-
tell, they pursued them without order: so that
when they were passed the wood where the em-
bushment lay, their enemies brake out vpon
them (casting no such perilles) and slewe them
euery one. The same of this ouerthrowe came
immediatly vnto Craterus, which drew thither
with the horsemen. But the Massagetes being
slede before his comming, he slewe a thousand of
the Dahans that tooke their part: whereby the
rebellion of the whole countrey ceased. Thus
Alexander hauing subdued the Sogdians, retur-
ned to Paracanda, whither Berdes (whom he
had sent to the Scythians inhabiting about Bos-
phorus) came to him with Embassadors of that
countrey. Phzatapernes also that had y^e chiefe
rule of the Massagetes and Dahans (which na-
tions were ioined by affinitie together) sent cer-
taine messengers to Alexander, offering to be at
his commaundement. The Scythian Embassa-
dors made request that Alexander would marie
their kinges daughter: and if the affinitie plea-
sed him, that he would suffer the Princes of the
Macedons to enter in mariage likewise with y^e
noble mens daughters of their countrey: pro-
mising that the king shoulde come in person to
site him. He heard gently both the Embassages,
and still continued in that place, till Ephestion
and Artabazus came vnto him: and then ioy-
ning his power againe together, came into the
countrey that is called Bazaria.

There

There is nothing more esteemed in that nation
then to haue great hearde of wyld beasts en-
closed in Parkes, which be verie pleasaunt and
full of springs. Those Parkes be enclosed wyth
walles, and towers builded within them, to bee
lodges for the hunters. There was one Parke
in that countrey that had remained vnhunted
during the time of foure mens ages: Wherin
Alexander entered with his whole army, cha-
sing the wilde beasts in euery quarter. Among-
gest the rest there was a Lyon of rare bignes-
se that came running towards Alexander. Which
thing when Lisimachus (that afterwards was
king, standing by chaunce then next to Alexan-
der) perceiued, he stepped before him, to receiue
the Lyon with his hunting speare. But Alexan-
der plucked him, and willed him to auoide, say-
ing, that hee was able to kill a Lyon as well as
Lisimachus. This Lisimachus on a time hun-
ting in Siria, killed by himselfe alone a huge Li-
on. But yet he was torne to the bones vnder
his left shoulder, and put in great daunger of
his life. Which being the matter that Alexan-
der meant, he performed with that worde no
lesse then he promised: for hee did not onely re-
ceiue the Lyon, but kylled him with one stroke.
Thereupon the fable did rise, howe Alexander
shoulde cast Lisimachus to a Lyon. But though
Alexanders chaunce was good herein: yet the
Macedons knewe that by the custome of his
countrey hee shoulde not haue hunted on fote,

Z.iiij.

with

without the chiefest of his nobilitie and frendes about him. He killed in that Parke foure thousand wylde beastes, and there did banquet his armie, returning afterwarde to Paracanda. Artabazus excusing himselfe there by his age, that he was vnapt for the rule of that country: Alexander committed the same to Clytus, being the manne that defended him with his Target when he was fighting bare headed at the Ryuer of Granike, and there cut of with his sword Phosaceris hande, that was in a readinesse to strike the king. He was an olde souldier of Philip his Father, and notable by many featcs of warre that hee had done. Hellanice his sister was Alexanders Nurse, whom he loued no lesse then his owne mother. For these causes he committed the strongest part of his Empire to his fidelitie. The king that purposed to set forward his iourney the next daye, made that night a solemne banquet: wherein (being ouer great an aduaunter of himselfe) when he was chased with drinking, hee began to set forth the actes that he had done, in such sort that his wordes offended the eares of such as knewe them to be true. The auncient men kepte silence, till such time as he began to deface the dooinges of Philip his Father, aduaunting the noble victorie of Cherone to be his deede: the glorie whereof he saide, was taken from him by the malice and enuy of his Father. For he alledged how in the mutinie which rose betwene the Macedons

and

and the Greeke souldiers, when Philip laye hurt of a wounde which he receyued at a fraye, thought himselfe sure no otherwise then to counterfeite to be dead: When he defended his body with his buckler, and slew them with his owne hande that ranne vpon his Father to haue killed him. Which acte (hee saide) his Father would neuer gladly confesse: nor neuer coulde abide once to acknowledge his safegard to come by his Sonne. Hee also declared howe after the iourney hee made by himselfe into Illiria, in writing to his Father, hee ascribed the victorie vnto hymselfe, which ouerthrewe his enemies, and put them to flyght when Philippe was away. He said, that in his opinion, it deserved but smal commendation to make a iourney into Samothracia, whē Asia ought to haue bene spoyled and burned. Nor he thought no man worthie prayse in deede, but such as doe so great actes, that maye excede all mennes credite. The young menne that were presente, were glad to heare these wordes, and such other lyke: but they were vngratefull vnto the auncientest: specially for Philip his cause, vnder whom they had long serued. When Clytus who in like case was not verie sober, tourned to such as sate beneath him, rehearsing verses of Euripides, wherof the king might rather heare the sounde then the wordes. The effecte of them was, that the Greekes did enill, which in the monumentes of their victories, did sub-

Z.iiij.

scribe

scribe onely the names of their kinges, which vsurped the glozy to themselves that other men did winne by shedding of their blood. Alexander therfore which iudged his wordes to haue bene worse then they were, enuyzed of such as late nexte him, what Clytus saide. But when they kepte silence: Clytus with a louder voyce rehearsed in order Philips doinges, and the warres he made in Grece, preferring them before anye actes done since that tyme. Where-uppon there dyd rise a contention betwene the young men and the olde. But the king enforcing a patience in himselfe, when hee heard Clytus deface his praise, conceyued a wonderfull wrath in his mind. Yet it seemed y he would haue bydeled his affection, if Clytus would haue made an ende of his presumptuous talke. But when he would not cease, he gaue occasion to Alexander to be further moued. Clytus then did proceed so farre forth, that he durst defend Parmenio his case, & preferred the victorie that Philip wonne of the Athenians, before the destruction of Thebes. And going further and further, not onely through drunkennes, but euen by a forwardnes of a contentious minde, at length saide,

If we must die through thee, Clytus is the first. For they receiue greatest rewards of thy victorie, that can most shamefully deface thy fathers memorie. The countrey of the Sogdians is giuen vnto mee, that hath so often rebelled: and nowe is not onely vnsubdued, but such one as by no meanes can be brought to

sub-

subiection. I am placed amongst those wilde beastes, that be of such an vnciuil disposition. But I coulde passe ouer things pertaining to my selfe: if the souldiours of Philip were not despised: forgetting that if the old Atharias had not turned againe the pong me, when they gaue ouer the fight, we had yet sticke about Alicarnazus. How is it the that Asia is conquered with these young men: But I see it is true that your vncle said in Italy: he chaunced vpon men, and you vpon women.

There was nothing that Clytus spake or did in his rashnesse, that moued more the king, then the honourable mention made of Parmenio: yet for all that he kept in his griefe, and did no more but commaunded him to auoide out of the place, and spake no other word, sauing that he said: If thou talkest a litle longer, I thinke thou wilt braid me with the sauing of his lyfe: wherof in very deed he would oftentimes proudly aduance himselfe. But notwithstanding that the king had willed him to depart, yet he taried still, and would not rise: And therfore such as late next him, tooke him by the armes to leade him away, blaming, and giuing him exhortatio for his better vsage. When Clytus saue himselfe drawen forth against his will: Ire was added to his drunkennes, and declared then aloud how that he with his brest defended the kings backe: but now when the good turne was past, the very memory of his benefit was hated: and therewith layed to his charge the death of Attalus, and finally mocked the Oracle of Jupiter, whom Alexander claimed to be his father

and

and sayd that he told hym better trueth then his father did. At those wordes the king was stirred to such wrath, as he could scarcely haue borne being sober: But hauing then his senses ouercome with drinke, leaped sodainly from the table. His friendes were amazed, which throw- ing downe the cuppes for haste, rose to waite the ende of the thing, they sawe him goe about in such a fury. He tooke a speare out of a squiers hand, & would haue striken Clytus, y^e was yet raging with y^e intemperance of his tongue: But he was stopped by Ptholomeus and Perdicas, who tooke him in their armes, & stayed him for all his struiing: and Lisimachus and Leonatus tooke away the speare. Then he called to his garde for ayde, crying out that he was taken by his next friendes, as Darius was of late, and willed the trumpet to be blowen, that the armed men might assemble vnto the court. Then Perdicas and Ptholomeus fell downe vppon their knees, requiring him that he would not perseuere in his wrath which he so sodainly had conceived, but rather respite his displeasure, say- yng that he might the next day much better order y^e matter. But his wrath preuailed so much that his eares were shut vp, & he ran in a fury amongst the watchemen, plucking a speare out of one of their handes, which once gotten, he stode in the entrie, through the which they must needs passe that supped with him. When all the rest were come forth, Clytus came last

with

without light. And because Alexander could not discerne him, he asked what he was: but that was done so terribly, that the crueltie of the acte he went about, appeared in his voyce. But Clytus, which seeing the king in a furie, had no respect how much he had offended hym before, answered that he was Clytus, which was commyng from the kinges banquet. With that worde he strake him through the body, so that he fell downe starke dead, and was all sprinkled with his bloud. Goe now quoth he, to Phillip, Parmenio, and to Attalus. Herein it may be seene that nature prouided euill in the disposition of man, which for the more parte can not consider so well thinges to come, as those that be past. For after that Alexanders ire was allwaged, and his drunkenesse past, weying aduisedly the foulennesse of the acte hee had done: he considered then y^e though Clytus had vsed ouer much liberty in his talke, that yet he ought not to haue slaine so noble a man of warre: yea, and the sauer of hys owne lyfe, though he were ashamed to confesse it. He sawe that he being a king, had vsed the detestable office of an executioner in reuenging with wicked slaughter the liberty of wordes, which myght haue bene imputed vnto wine. When he beheld the bloud of him which a litle before he had bid- den to his banquet, run ouer al the entrie, and y^e the watchmen were so astonied & amazed, that they stode a farre off and durst not come nere: his

his solitarines caused his repentance to bee the greater. Then he plucked the speare out of the dead corpes, and would haue thrust it through his owne body if the watchmen had not come running, and with great striving wrung ysame out of his hands. That done, they took him vp, and caried him into his lodging, whereas he fell doونه flat vpon the ground, filling all the court full of the miserable noyse of his howling and lamentation. He tare his face with his nayles, and required such as stood about him, that they would not suffer him to liue in such a shame & dishonour. In these requestes he consumed the whole night, and caused diligent search to bee made, whether it were the ire of the gods or no, that had caused him to commit so hainous an acte. At length it was found that the yeerely sacrifice due vnto Bacchus, was not done in due tyme: And therefore it appeared manifestly, that it should be the wrath of the gods, that had moued him to commit murther vpon eatyng & drinking. But the greatest thing that encreased his sorow, was the amasement of his friends, when he sawe them shynke from him, and that none of them after that deed done, would gladly vse such familiar communication as they did before. When he perceiued that he should lyue as a wilde beast in a desert, both fearing others and also afraid himselfe. The next mornyng he commanded the body bloudy as it was, to bee brought into his chamber, which when he sawe

lying

lying before him, fell in weeping, and said:

Shall I after this sort requite my Purse, whose two sonnes are slaine for my glory at Miletū, I haue now killed her brother (that was her onely ioy) at myne owne hood: What refuge shall that wretched woman haue? I was all the comfort that did remaine to her, and now she shall neuer be glad to behold me. Shall I the wicked killer of my preseruers, returne into my countrey, when I shall not be able to present my hand vnto my Purse, without the remembraunce of her miserie?

When he could put no ende to these kind of bewailings and complaints, the body was taken away by the appointment of his friendes. After he had lyen thre dayes shut vp in his chamber, sorowing after this maner, the Squiers, & such as had the keeping of his person, seeing him giuen obstinately to death, brake into his lodging, & with great payne brought him (though he long withstode their prayers) at length to take some reliefe and sustenance. And to the extent he should be the lesse ashamed of Clytus death, the Macedons decreed that he was lawfully killed, and would not suffer him to be buried, but that the king commanded it. Hauyng consumed ten dayes at Maracanda, specially to confirme the shame he had conceiued of Clytus death, sent Ephestion with part of his army into Bactria to prouide vitayles against Winter: And committed the same prouince vnto Aminatas, which before he had giuen to Clytus. From thence he went into a countrey called Zenippa that confineth with the Scythians, which being well

well inhabited and full of villages, doeth with the plentifulnes thereof, not onely detaine the inhabiteurs to dwell there still, but also inviteth strangers to come amongst them. The same was a refuge to the outlawes of Bactria that all rebelled: but after Alexanders coming was known, they were driven forth by y^e countrymen, and two thousand and two hundred of their horsemen assembled together, which were accustomed to live by theft and spoyle in tyme of peace: whom not onely the warre, but also dispaire of forgiveness, had made more cruell, and their wilde dispositions worse. They gave an onset sodainly upon Amyntas, that was Darius lieutenant. The battell was long doubtful betwixt them: but finally, they lost 7. hundred of their number, wherof 3. hundred were taken prisoners, and turned their backs to the victors, not without a reuenge: for they slew of them 4. score, besides 3. hundred and fiftie that they wounded. And yet notwithstanding after this second rebellion, they obtained pardon. When Alexander had brought them to obedience, he came with his whole army into a country called Spautia, the Lord wherof was called Sisimithres, who had gotten two sonnes by his olde mother, it being lawfull there for the parents to vse their children. The same Sisimithres with 2000. armed men, fortified & kept the strait at the entry of the country where as it was most narrow. The passage was de-

fended

fended both with a river and with a rocke, thorough y^e which rocke the way was made by force of hand. The light is receiued in at the entrie: but further inward there is none, but such as men bring with them. From this Rocke there goeth a vaulte vnderneath the ground, that hath issue into the fieldes, which be not known but to such as be of the same country. Though this strait was naturally strong, and defended besides by a strong power: that letted not Alexander to attempt it, but brought Engines which they call Arietes, to beate downe such fortification as was made with hand, and with slinges and shot of arrowes, did beate his enemies from the places of their defence. When he had driven them away, he passed through the fortifications he had wonne, and made approach vnto y^e rocke. But the streame that grew of the assemble of waters falling from the mountaine was an impediment to him therein. It seemed a wonderful worke to fill the chanel of the river: yet he caused trees and stones to be brought to y^e place, & set the thing in hand. When his enemies that neuer had scene any such worke before, sawe the worke rise sodainly like a mountain, they were put in a marvelous feare, which the king supposing they might haue bene brought to render it by: sent one Driartes of the same nation, to perswade Sisimithres to render the rocke. And in the meane season to put them in more terror, he caused towers of wood to bee brought forwards,

forwards, and did shote with engines so out of the same, that the enemies forsaking all other strengths, retired into the top of the rocke. Driartes finding Sisimithres in this feare, perswaded him rather to proue Alexanders beneuolence, then his force, and seeing al creatures submitted theselues vnto him, that he onely should not be his let, goyng with his victorious army into India, whereby he should turne other mens plagues vpon his owne necke. Sisimithres would haue bene contented to folow his aduise, but that she which was both his mother and his wife, affirmed how she would rather dye, then commit her selfe into any mans hand: And therefore beyng ashamed that the loue of libertie should remaine more in a woman, then in him beyng a man, altered his purpose, takyng that way which was more honest then sure, and dismissed him that was the meane for peace, determining vtterly to abide the extremitie of the siege: Yet when he had weighed well his enemies power and his owne togethers, began againe to repent him of his wiues counsell, as of a deuise more rash then profitable, & made suite that Driartes would returne, profering then to commit himselfe to the kings will, onely requiring of Driartes that he would not vtter his wiues minde and opinion, for feare least she should not obtaine her pardon. He sent therefore Driartes before, and he came after with his wife, his children, and all his kinsfolke, without

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taryng for any assurance promised to hym by Driartes. Alexander hearing of their comming sent his horsemen before to cause them to stay, and tary for his commyng. And when hee was come to the place where they did abide, he offered sacrifice to Minerva and Victoria, restoring to Sisimithres his former rule and authoritie, putting him in hope of a greater countrey, if he would faithfully continue his friendship, and toke his two sonnes presented to him by the father, to serue his warres. Alexander left his footmen to subdue such as were yet vnyielden, and went forwards with his horsemen into other partes. The way was craggy and difficult, which at the first they endured indifferently: but afterwarde when their horse hooues were torne asunder, and they vtterly forwearied, many were not able to follow, but rid disperced & out of order: the wearinesse of their trauaile so much ouercame shame. The king notwithstanding changed often horse, and pursued without ceasing, his enemies that fled before him: By reason whereof, all the noble yong men y were wont to accompany him, were left behinde, saving onely Philip Lisimachus brother, who the beyng in the flower of his youth, and of great likelihood to become an excellent man, folowed on fote the king that did ride on horsebacke by the space of fittie furlongs: Lisimachus diuers tymes for all that, profered to him his horse. But in no wise he would depart from the king,

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notwithstanding, that he had on his corselet and all his armour. When the kyng passed thro' a wood where his enemies lay in ambushment, he fought notably, and rescued the kyng fighting with his enemies. But after they were put to flight and driven out of the woodes, the greatnesse of his courage, which had sustained him in the heate of the fight, fainted with his body, and beyng all on a sweate, leaned himselfe to a tree, which did not so stay him, but that he fell to the earth, and beyng taken by agayne by the kinges handes, thrunked downe from him and dyed. The king being sorowfull for his death, receiued another tidings no lesse to be lamented. For before he came to his campe, he was aduertised of the death of Crigius, one of his most notable Capitains, whose funerals was both celebrated with great pomp and ceremonies of honour.

From thence he determined to goe vnto the Dahans, where he vnderstode that Spitamenes was. But Fortune that neuer ceased to fauour him, finished that iourney of his as she did many other. Spitamenes was enflamed with the ouermuch loue of his wyfe, whome he caried with him in all his hazardes and aduentures. But she that could not well endure flying, nor to chaunge places like an outlawe, became so wearie of trauell, that by flattery and faire meanes she entised her husband to leaue his flying, and goe about (saying he saw

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no way to escape) to procure Alexander's fauour: of whose clemencie (she sayde) he had seene so great experience. And to moue him the more in the matter, she brought before him the children begotten betwixt them, making request, that at the least wayes he would take pittie on them, wherein she thought her prayer would be the more effectually, because Alexander was not so nere at hand. But Spitamenes iudgyng her not to doe this by way of counsaile, but of purpose to betray him, and that she desired to submit herselfe vnto Alexander, in confidence of her beautie, drew out his sword to haue striken her, if he had not bene letted by his brethren. When they would not suffer him otherwise to hurt her, he commaunded her to auoyde his sight, threatening to kill her, if she preferred to come agayne into his presence: And to mitigate his loue towardes her, he spent the night amongst his concubines. But his loue that was so deeply grounded, thereby ceased not, but rather kindled the more towards his wyfe. Wherefore he reconciled himselfe agayne vnto her, making his continuall request, that she would not counsaile nor moue him any more in the matter, but be content wth such chances as Fortune would send him: for he esteemed death lighter than to yeld himselfe. She purged herselfe of her former perswasion, which appeared to her (she said) to haue bene good, and though it

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were after a womans maner, yet it proceeded of a faithfull meanyng. Yet from thenceforth she was contented to do as it should please hym. Spitamenes ouercome with her counterfeite affection, made a great feast, and after much eating and drynking became drousie, and was carried into his chamber. When his wife perceyued him to be in a deepe sleepe, she pulled out a sword, which she had kept secretly for that purpose, and cut of his head, deliuering the same being spzynckled with bloud, vnto her seruant that was priuie to the facte, and with him onely, as she was embzued with bloud, came vnto the Macedones campe, willyng it to be signified to Alexander that there was one come, that had to speake with him. He by and by gaue commandement she should enter: but when he perceyued her defiled with bloud (thinking that she had come to lament some iniury done vnto her) willed her to declare what she would haue. She desired that her seruant might come in, from vnderneath whose garment she tooke Spitamenes head, and presented it vnto Alexander. The palenesse of the face wanting bloud, had taken away the knowledge whose it was. But when the king perceiued it to be a mans head, he departed forth of the tent, and by enquirie vnderstood the matter. The case brought him in great perplexitie, & he was driuen by diuers imaginati-
ons into sundry opinions. He iudged the kill-
yng of such one (beyng a fugitiue and a rebell)

to

to be a great benefite vnto him: which liuyng might haue bene a great let and impediment to his proceedinges. But on the other side, considering the horriblenesse of the deede, that she should kill him by treason, which loued her so entirely, and by whom she had had children: the violence of the acte ouercame the thanke of her benefite, and she was commanded to depart the campe, least the ensample of such licentiousnes might corrupt the maners and ciuill disposition of the Greekes. When the Dahans vnderstood of Spitamenes death, they brought Dataphernes bound, that was partener with him in his conspiracie, and yelded themselves vnto Alexander. He beyng deliuered from the greatest part of his present care, determined to reuenge the iniuries of them which had bene misused by the pride and couetousnesse of his deputies and officers. Therefore he committed Hircania w the Cardons and Tapirions to Dataphernes, to whome he gaue in commission to send Phzadates his predecessour to him as a prisoner. Tansonor was substituted ruler of Caria in the place of Arsamus. Arsaces was lent into Media, to the intent that Dridates should remove from thence. Babylon vpon the death of Dazeus was committed to Meditamenes. When he had ordained these thinges, the third moneth he drew his army out of their Winter lodgings, to go vnto a countrey that was called Gabaza. The first dayes iourney was quiete,

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and

and the next not very tempestuous: yet darker then had bene accustomed, but not without some signification of their calamities that were commyng. The third day the element was full of lightning, and when the lightning ceased, it was very darke. The beholding thereof amazed the souldiours, and put them in great feare. It thundred in maner continually, & the lightning fell in straunge similitudes, so that the army stode astonied, and durst neither goe forwardes, nor remayne still in a place. Then there came sodainely a shower of haile dryuyng like a streame, which at the first they defended by couerture of their harneis: But shortly after their handes were so cold and wette, that they could not hold their weapons, nor yet devise which way to turne themselves, finding alwayes where they turned their faces, more violence of the tempest then before. Every man therefore brake his aray, wanderyng about the woodes, and many that were wearied by feare rather then by trauaile, lay downe vpon the ground, notwithstanding that the force of the cold had conuerted the shower into a frost. The trees, against which they leaned, were a great refuge and helpe to many. And yet they were not ignorant when they rested, that they chose themselves a place of death: for when they left to moue their bodies, the natural heate left them. But ease was so pleasant to such as were wearied, that they refused not to die in resting of them.

themselves. Their affliction was not onely vehement for the tyme, but also continued very long: to the encrease whereof, the light, which is a naturall delectation vnto men, through the darkenesse of the shower, and the shadow of the wood, was so taken away, that it appeared as it had bene night. The king onely was able to endure this mischiese, which ceased not to go about the army, drawing the souldiours together when they were disperkled, lifting them vp that lay on the ground, and to encourage them, he shewed them the smoke that rose a farre off from the cotages, whether he exhorted them to drawe for succour. There was not any thyng more effectual to their safegard, then that whiles they were ashamed to leaue their Prince, who they sawe endure this mischiese, they chased themselves with their labour and trauell. But necessitie (which in aduerse fortune is of more force then any reason) found out a remedy for this cold. They fell to cutting downe the woode, making euery where heapes & stacks thereof, and set them on fire. Then a man would haue iudged that the whole wood had ben on a flame. For there was scarcely space left betwixt the fires for men to stand. Then their nummed members began to be moued with the heat, and their spirits which were oppressed by force of the cold began to haue their free recourse: Some recovered the cotages, which necessitie caused them to seeke out in the furthest part of the Wood, and

and the rest recovered the campe, which was planted in a moist ground. But by that time the shower was ceased, the tempest had consumed a thousand souldiers, varlets and slaues. It is sayd that diuers were found frosen to death, leaning against trees, and yet seemed as though they had bene liuyng and speakyng together. It chaunced that a common souldiour of the Macedones, which had much payne to go and cary his armour, came at the last into the campe where the king was: who notwithstanding that he was chafing of his owne body agaynst the fire, yet he did rise out of his chaire, and pullyng of the nummed souldiours armour, that was almost past his remembraunce, set hym down therein. He a great while knew not where he sate, or who had receiued him. But at length when his naturall heate came to him, and perceyued it to be his kings seate, and the kyng to be there present, was afrayd, & start vp agayne. But Alexander beheld him in the face, and said: Perceiuest thou not now my souldier, with how much better conditiō thou liuest, then the Persians do vnder their king? For it is death for the to sit in the kings seate, and the same hath bene the sauegard of thy life.

The next day he called his friendes, and the capitaines of the army together, promising to restore to the whatsoeuer they had lost, where in he perfourmed his promise. For Sisimithres bringyng vnto him many beasts of burden, with two thousand Camels, and great number of sheepe and oxen, he distributed all amongst the sould-

souldiers: wherin he both restored to their losse and also deliuered them from hunger. The king gaue great thankes vnto Sisimithres, and commaunding his souldiers to carie sixe daies victualles ready dressed, went to the Sacans, where he destroyed all their Countrey, and of the bootie there taken, gaue thyrtye thousand sheepe in gift to Sisimithres. From thence he came vnto a countrey belonging to a noble prince called Cohortanus, which submitted himselfe vnto the king. And he againe restored his countrey vnto him, exacting nothing of his, but that of his three sonnes he should send two with him to serue in his warres. But Cohortanus offered to him all thre, and made a feast vnto Alexander, with all such sumptuousnes as belonged to the maner of the countrey. Wherein all the pleasures beeing shewed that could be deuised, thirtie byrgins of the noble mens children were brought in before Alexander, amongst whom there was Cohortanus daughter called Morane, which in beautie and excellencie of personage, and in comelynesse of apparell (rare amongst those Nations) excelled all the reste. And notwithstanding that they were all elect with whom she was accompanied: yet she drew all mens eyes towarde her, and specially the kinges, that could not well nowe gouerne his affections in such prosperitie of fortune, beeing the thing that the frailnesse of man seldome can auoide. Thus he which beheld the Wife of Darius and her two Daughters, (to

(to whome Korane was nothing comparable) with no other intente then he might haue done his mother, was then so farre ouercome with the loue of a young byrigin, being but of a base stocke, if she should be compared to kings bloud, that hee affirmed it to bee a thing necessarie for the establishment of the Empire, for the Persians and Macedons to mary together: by which onely meanes shame myght bee taken from the vanquished, and pride from the victors. Hee also for his purpose alleadged a president, howe Achilles (of whome hee was descended) ioynded himselfe with a captiue. And least hys dowinges shoulde bee thought iniurie, he would couple himselfe by the waye of mariage. The Father ioyfull of these newes that he looked not for, gladly confirmed the kinges wordes: Who in the heate of his desire, caused breade to bee brought fourth, according to the custome of hys Countrey, the same being the moste religious ceremonie of maryage amongst the Macedons: which bread was cutte asunder with a sword, and eche of them made of it a sacrifice. It is to be thought, that such as established the customs of that nation, coueted by a moderate and a scarce dyet, to shewe to them that were the gatherers of great riches, with howe small a thing they ought to content themselves. Thus he that was both king of Asia and Europe, ioynded himselfe in mariage with a maide brought in at a maske, to begette vppon a captiue, that should

should raaign ouer the victorious Macedons. His frendes were ashamed that he should choise vppon drinke a father in lawe, of them that he had lately subdued. But after the death of Clytus, all the libertie and franknes of speech being taken away, they seemed to agree with their countenances, as the most apt instrument to declare the consent of the mynde. After this was done, he prepared his iourney towarde India, purposing to visite the Ocean Sea. And because he would leaue nothing behinde his backe that might be impediment to his expedition: he tooke order for thirtie thousand young men to be leui- ed out of all the prouinces, and to be brought to him armed, minding to vse them both as pledges and as souldiers. He sente Craterus to pursue Haustanes, and Catenes: of whom the one was taken, and the other slayne. Polycarpon also subdued the countrey that was called Babacen. And so hauing set all thinges in order, he set his whole imagination vppon the warre of Inde, which was counted to be a berie rich countrey, and to abound both with golde, pearles, and pretious stones: thinges more appertayning to voluptuousnes, then to magnificence: & it was saide that the souldiers there had their targets made of Iuorie, and of gold. And therefore least he which thought himselfe to excel the rest, should bee passed in any point, caused hys souldiers to garnish their targets with plates of siluer: the horsemen to make their byrdels of golde,

golde, and their cossettes to bee beautified with golde, and with siluer. There were a hundred and twentie thousand armed men that followed Alexander in the warre. When all thinges were in readines (for the purpose he long before conceived in his euil disposed mind) ethought it time to compasse how he might vsurp the name and honour of a God, and so willed himselfe not onely to be called, but also to be beleued to bee the sonne of Jupiter, as though his power had bene as wel to restraine mennes thoughtes as their tongues. His intent was that the Macedons should fall groueling vpon the grounde & worship him after the like maner the Persians did their kinges. And to such his desire, there wanted not pernicious flatterie, the perpetuall poyson of Princes, whose estate hath had more often ouerthrowes by flatterie, then by any force of enemies. The Macedons were not in blame of this: for none of them suffered gladlye their countrey customes to be subuerted. But it was the fault of y^e Greekes, which with their naughtie conditions corrupted the profession of honest sciences. There was one Hagis of Argiue, as euill a Poet as was since Cherillus dayes, and an other called Cleo a Sicilian, giuen to flatterie both of nature, and by the custome of y^e countrey. They with other the dregges and refuse of their cuntreys (whom Alexander reputed more then any of his capitains or his kinsmen) would haue made it appere to the world, that heauen

had

had layen open for Alexander, and sticked not openly to pronounce that both Hercules & Bacchus, Castor and Pollux, shoulde all giue place to his new Godhead. For the bringing of those thinges to passe, the king commaunded vpon a solempne day a feast to be prepared with great pompe, inuiting thereunto all the great Lordes and Gentlemen, both of the Macedons and the Greekes: with whome when he had sitten and eaten a while, he departed from thence out of y^e feast. Then Cleo, as was before determined, set forth his talke with great praise and wonder of the kinges vertues, rehearsing his exceeding benefites towards them all: which to requite, he saide there was but one way, and that was if they would acknowledge him a God, whō they knew to be one. For it is a smal thing (quoth he) to recompence such great benefites towards you with the cost of a litle frankinsence. He shewed the Persians custome to bee both religious and wise, in worshipping their kings as Gods: thinking their defence and sauegarde to consist in the maiestie of their Prince. He saide, that Hercules and Bacchus were deified, when they had once overcome the enuy of such as liued in their time: And men that come after, doe easily beleue such thinges as haue bene confirmed by their predecessors. If any of you (quoth he) will sticke at this matter, ye shal see me the first that at the kings comming in, shall fall down groueling on the earth and worship him. Which pre-

sented

Most others ought to folow, and specially men of most wisdom, that should alwaies be example to others in doing their duties toward their prince. His tale tended directly against Calistenes, whose grauitie and prompt libertie of speaking was hateful vnto the king: for he thought him the man which onely had staied the Macedons, that els would readily haue done to him that honour. Whereupon euerie mans eyes were turned towards Calistenes, which after silence made, said in this wise.

If the king were present (Cleo) to heare these thy wordes, it shoulde not be needfull then to aunswere thee: for he himself would make request that he might not thus swerue out of this kinde into the customes of straungers, nor he would not suffer that thou shouldest deface and bring in the obloquie and enuy of men, with such thy pernicious flatterie, his noble actes brought to passe with such felicitie and good fortune. But because he is away, I will for him thus aunswere thee. There is no fruite loone ripe, that will continue long. This I meane by the diuine honours, which, whilest thou goest about to giue vnto the king, thou takest his honour from him. There is a time required that men should beleeue him to be a God: for that gift hath alwayes bene giuen to great men, when they are once deade, by such as came after them: I wishe vnto the king immortallitie after his death, and that his life may be long, and his estate continuall. But sanctifying is a thing that sometime doth followe a man, but it neuer doth accompany him. Thou didst rehearse examples of the deifying of Hercules, and Bacchus. Thinkest thou that they were made Goddes bypon drynke, and by the decree of one Dinner? The nature of Alexanders manhoode must be remoued from our mortall eyes, before the same can bring hym into heauen. Are not they goodlie Goddes (Cleo) that thou

Thou and I can make: Would the king bee contente (trouest thou) to receyue of vs the authoritie of hys Godhead? I haue great desire to proue thy power, if thou canst make a God, first make a king. It is much more easie to giue a worldly kingdom, then the possession of heauen. Thinkest thou (Cleo) that the immortal Goddes will heare thee without buydayne, or suffer these thy wycked deuyces to take effect? They would that wec shoulde holde vs content with the customes of our forefathers: and for my parte I am not ashamed of my Countrey, nor I requyre not to learne after what maner I shoulde honour my Prince. For in my opinion, we acknowledge him sufficiently to be king and victourour, of whome we receyue lawes to liue vnder.

Calistenes was fauourably heard of all men, as the person whom they counted the recouerer of their libertie. He did not only in his tale paint out such flatterers, but also liuely expessed the opinion of the Macedons, specially of such as were auncient men, to whom the exchaunge of their olde vsages were greuous. The kyng was nothing ignoraunt of the wordes that had passed betweene them: for hee stode behynde a partition of the Hall, and heard all the matter. He sent worde therefore to Bagis and Cleo, that at hys comming in, they shoulde moue the straungers onely to fall downe and woozshippe him after their Countrey custome. And after a whyle, the king (as though hee hadde beens about some matters of importaunce, returned agayne into the feast: and then the Persians fell downe and woozshipped him after such sorte as was deuised, but Polycarpon that

that sate aboue the king at the boord, asked one in scozne that touched the ground with his chin, why he kissed no harder: with which words he moued Alexander to yre, whereof he was euer impatient: so that he said vnto Policarpon: Is it thou that disdainest to honour me? shall I be mocked of thee alone? He answered, that it was not seemely a king should bee scozned, nor yet a subiect despised: With which wordes the king plucked him from the table, & threwe him downe: to whom he saide, falling groueling vpon the earth: Lo, hast thou not done thy selfe, that befoze thou didst scozne in an other man: and thereupon he commaunded him to warde, and so brake vp the feast. Policarpon being thus punished, was afterwarde pardoned, but Calistenes (whose contempt and stubboznesse the king had long grudged at) grounded his displeasure then moze deepely: vpon whom there chaunced shortly after an apt occasion to be reuenged. It was a custome (as it hath beene said befoze) amongst the noble men of Macedon, to put their sonnes when they were past their childhoode in seruice to the king, as pages to do necessary businesse about his person. Their vsage was to watch nightly by course at the chamber doore, where the king laye. The Concubines were brought in by them by an other way where the garde watched. They likewise receiued the horses of the groomes of the stable, & brought them to the king when he leaped on. They alwayes

were

were about the king both in hunting & in battaile, and were brought vp in the studie of liberall sciences. The chiefest honour was giuen vnto them, because they might sit and eat with the king: none had power to correct them with strypes, but onely the king himselfe. This companie was like a masse or store, from whence all the Capitaines and gouernours of the Macedons did come. From thence came their later kings, whose lynage the power of the Romans long after did extinct. Hermolaus one of y number, because he had stryken a Woze (whome the king had thought to haue stricken himselfe) was by his commaundement beaten, and scourged with rodde, which rebuke hee tooke greuously and complained to Nicotratius his frende, that was one of the same companie: Which seeing the bodie tozne, whereunto hee had so great affection, and peradventure offended also with the king befoze, for some other cause, stirred so Hermolaus (which was prouoked sufficiently already) that ech gaue faith to other to find a way to destroy the king: Which they executed, notwithstanding any childish proceeding, but wisely agreed to bring Nicotratius, Antipater, Asclepiodorus, and Philotas into the fellowship of their conspiracie. And afterwarde they ioyned vnto them moze, Anticles, Claptonius, & Phimanes. But the meane how to performe this enterpryse, seemed verie difficult, because it behoued all them to watch together. And it was the vsage that

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usage that according to their courses, some watched one night, and some another. For if anye should happen amongst them y^e were not priuie to the matter, the same might be a lette to the whole enterpryse. Therefore about chaunging y^e course of their watch, and in other preparation for the execution of their purpose, there passed 23 daies. At length the night came when the whole number of the conspirators should watch together, who reioiced greatly amongst themselves, that ech had kept faith to other: wherof so many daies silence had giuen great proofe: during which time neither feare nor hope, had altered any of their mindes, so great was their displeasure they had conceiued against the king or els the fidelitie they bare ech to other. They were standing at the doore where the king dyd eate, to the intent that at his rising from y^e banquet, they might bring him to his chamber. But Alexanders fortune, and the pleasantnes of such as were in his companie, moued him to drinke largely, whereby, & by reason of other pastimes and deuises, the time was so prolonged, that the conspirators stode in a marueilous perplexitie. For one whyle they were glad, because they trusted to finde hym drunke, when they should go about their enterpryse, and another whyle they were in great agonye, least he should sitte till day light, for then the custome was to relieue the watch, and other to succeed in their places, and since their course shoulde not bee

come

come againe till the seventh night after they could not be assured that euery one of the would keepe the thing secret all that time. But when the day began to appeere, and Alexander was risen from the banquet: they were so glad to execute their malice, that they became ioyfull to receiue the king. There was a woman accustomed to haunt the Court, which beeing crafty of her minde, and seeming by some inspyration to the ve things to come, met Alexander, and would in no wise suffer him to passe, but perswaded him by all meanes she could deuise, to returne and sit downe againe. He saide to her in sport that the Gods gaue him good aduise: and thereupon called backe againe to his familiars, and sate drinking till it was two houres after day light. By which time an other company had releued the watch, and were standing before the kings chamber doore: yet for all that the conspirators remained still after y^e time of their watch expyred. So vehement is y^e hope which mens mindes conceiue, when they be drowned in the desire to great things. The king spake more gently to them then hee was accustomed, and willed them to go to their rest, for so much as they had watched all the night before: & gaue vnto euery one of them in reward 50. sesterces, with commendation of their diligence, y^e they continued their watch longer then their time. Being thus deceiued of y^e great hope they were in, they departed to their lodgings.

B. 4.

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in expectation of the night when their course should come againe. But Ephimanes which either by the gentlenes of the king shewed him amongst the rest, or els that he thought the providence of God had withstood their purpose, suddenly chaunged his mind, and opened y^e matter they had gon about to his brother Curilochus, y^e was not priue to y^e matter before. The punishment of Philotas was so freshe in euerie mans memorie, that Curilochus laide streightwayes handes vpon his brother, and brought him in to the Court. He called to the watch, and shewed them that he brought newes pertaining to y^e kinges sauegarde: which thing well appeared, as well by their comming at such a time, as also by their sadnesse, which was a testimonie of their troubled mindes. The watch men called by Ptolemy and Leonatus, that lay within the kinges chamber, who streightwayes brought them in to the king, and wakened him, that by reason of his much drinking lay in a dead sleepe. It was long ere he awoke, but by litle and litle he came to himselfe, and asked what the matter was. Then saide Curilochus, thanked be the Gods that haue not vtterly determined the ruine of our familie. For though my brother purposed an heynous acte, yet is hee come to repentance, by him the matter is brought to light. This same verie night treason was conspyred against you, the authours thereof be such as you would scarcely thinke.

And

And thereupon Ephimanes declared all things in order, with the names of the conspirators. It is certeine that Calistenes was not named as one priue to that treason: but it was confessed that he gladly gaue eare to others talke, when they blamed and spake euill of the kinges proceedings, some doe ad therunto, that when Permolus did complaine to Calistenes how y^e king had beaten him, he bad him remember how hee was a man. But whether hee spake it to take y^e thing in patience, or els to stirre him to further malice, it remaineth in doubt. When the king was fully awaked, and called to his memorie y^e perill he was in, hee gaue Curilochus fiftie talents, with the forfait of a rich mans goods called Tiridates, and forgaue his brother, before his pardon was required. He commaunded the principals of this treason to be kept bound, and amongst them Calistenes: who beeing taken & brought into the Court, the king slept all y^e day, and the night ensuing: he was so heauie wth drinking & watching. The next day he called a great councell, whereat the fathers and kinsfolkes of the conspirators were present, not verie wel assured of their sauegarde, because that by the law of the Macedons all ought to die, that were any thing of kynne to traytours. All the conspirators except Calistenes by the kinges commaundement were brought forth, immediately confessing the whole treason that they had deuised. Then euery man present reuiled them, and the

B b. ij.

king

and the king required what he had done to the, why they should conspyre his death. When all the other stood still and helde their peace: Hermolaus answered thus.

Ye demaund this thing of vs, as though yee knewe not the matter. We went about to kill you, because you began to raigne ouer vs, as if we were slaues, and not free borne.

As he was speaking those wordes, his father Persepolis called him traytour and murtherer of his parents, stopping his mouth with his hand because he should speake no further. Then the king plucked his father backe, and willed Hermolaus to speake such things as he had learned of his master Calistenes. Then Hermolaus proceeded,

I will vse your benefite, and declare those thinges which I haue learned to the great mischief of vs all. Howe small is the number of the Macedons remaining, that haue escaped your crueltie: Attalus, Phylotas, Parmenio, Lyncestes Alexander, and Clytus are now dead: but to our enemies behoofe they be a lyue. They stood in the fight, and defended thee with swords, receyuing woundes for your glorie and victorie, which now be verie well rewarded: The one besprinkled your table with his bloud, & the other could not be suffered to die a simple death. Thus the Captaines of your people be tormented and put to death: a pleasant spectacle to the Persians, of whome they were victourers. Parmenio, by whom ye slewe your enemy Attalus, was put to death without iudgment. Thus ye vse the hands of vs wretches as instruments one to kill another: and such as euen now were your tormentours, straightwayes you commaund to be tormented of others.

At those wordes the multitude began to shout
again

against Hermolaus, and his father drew out his sword to haue slaine him, if he had not bene letted by the king, which commaunded Hermolaus to speake, requyring the rest to heare hym patiently, which (he saide) enforced the cause of his owne punishment. At length with great labour they held their peace, and then Hermolaus began againe.

How liberall is he to suffer rude childzen to speake, when the voice of Calistenes is shutte vp in prison, because hee alone is able to tell his tale: And why? because he feareth the free speeche of an innocent, and because hee cannot endure to beholde his face: and yet I wil iustifie that he is not priuy to this matter. But other there be here that purposed with mee a notable enterpryse, of whome there is not any that can accuse Calistenes of consent, and yet our so patient and righteous a king, hath determined here his death. These be the rewards of the Macedons, whose bloud is misused as byle, and of no valour. He hath thirty thousand Mules carrying spoyle and treasure, and yet the poore Souldiers carry nothing with them but unrewarded woundes and skarres: All which thinges we did easily suffer, before hee did betraye vs to the barbarous, and after a newe trade of victors made vs slaues. He alloweth the apparayle and discipline of the Persians, and despiseth the maners of his owne Countrey. And therefore we determined to kill him, not kyng of Macedon, but kyng of Persia, and as a fugitiue persecuted him by the lawe of Armes. He would haue the Macedons kneele to him, and worshippinge hym as a God. He refused Philyppe for his father: and if any God had bene before Jupiter hee would haue refused hym likewise. Doe you marueyle if free menne cannot beare this his pryde? What can we hope for at his handes, seeing we must eyther die as innocents; or els (that is worse then death) lyue and remaine in bondage as slaues?

W. b. iiij.

He

He is greatly in my debt, if by this he could amend: for he may learne of mee the thing that free hartes cannot endure. Spare them whose age shall be sufficient: ly tozmented with the losse of their childzen: but vpon vs cause execution to bee done, to the intent that wee maye obteine by our owne death, the libertie wee sought for by his.

When Hermolaus had spoken these words, the king then answered after this maner.

How false these thinges bee which he hath learned of his instructoz, my patience doth declare. For notwithstanding he befoze confessed this treason, yet my mind was ye should heare what he could say: knowing very well that when I gaue libertie to this theefe to speake, that he would vie the same rage & surpe in his talke, which befoze moued him to haue killed me, whō he ought to haue loued as his father. Of late whē that in hunting he vsed a great presumption, I commaunded him to bee chastised after the custome of our countrey vsed by the kinges of Macedon: Which chastisement wee must graunt needfull to bee done, lyke as the pupils bee accustomed of their tutozs, the wyues of their husbands, and seruantes of their maisters. This was all the crueltie I vsed towardes him, which hee would haue reuenged wyth murther and treason. But howe gentle I am to all persons, that suffer me to vse myne owne disposition, since you your selues do know, it were but superfluous for mee to rehearse. I cannot maruaile at all, though punishment of traytours be displeasaunt vnto Hermolaus, since hee himselfe is in the same case: for when he commendeth Parmenio and Philotas, it maketh for his owne purpose. I pardoned Lyncestes Alexander, which was accused by two witnesses, that hee twise conspyzed treason against mee: and againe convicted, yet deferred I his punishment twoo yeres, tyll you your selues required that he might haue his deseruing. Touching Atalons, yee remember verie well, howe hee wrought Treason agaynst mee befoze I was king. And for Clytus, I would God hee had not moued me to yre,

whose

whose rash tongue speaking the rebuke & shame both of me and you, I suffered longer then he would haue done me, speaking the like. The clemency of the kings and princes consisteth not onely in their owne dispositions, but in such as be vnder their subiection. For the rigour of such as be rulers, is mitigated with humilitie. But when mens mindes be voyd of reuerence, and high and lowe be confounded all alike, then force is necessary to repulle violence. But why do I maruel that he laid crueltie to my charge, that durst obiect towards me couetousnesse? I will not call you to witnesse one by one, least I should braid you with liberality, by making declaratiō what I haue bestowed vpon you. We hold the whole multitude, which a litle while ago had nothing els but their bare armour: doe they not lie in sluer beds: be not their tables charged with plate, & possesse they not whole flocks of slaues? They are not able to sustaine the spoiles of their enemies. But it is sayd, the Persians be honoured of me, whom we haue conquered. Truly they be so, and yet what greater prafe can there be of my moderation, then that I doe not raigne prouidly ouer such as I haue subdued. I came into Asia not vtterly to subuert the nations, nor to make the one halfe of the world desert, but to giue the conquered cause not to repent them of our victozy. This is the occasion they gladly fight for you, and for your kingdome spend their bloud, which if they were prouidly vsed, would straight rebell against you. The possession is not durable which is possessed by violence, but the thanks of gentlenes receined, endured eueralstingly. If we purpose to enioy Asia, & not to make a progresse thozow it, we must make them partakers of our clemencie, and then their fidelitie shall make our Empire stable and perpetuall. And truly wee haue now more then we can well wishe or desire. Couetousnesse is an insatiable thing, specially when men desire to fill the vessell that runneth ouer. But yee will say that I mixe and bzing their customes amongst oures. It is so, and why: because I see in diuers nations right many things which we neede not be ashamed to follow. And so great an Empire as we haue gotten, cannot otherwise be aptly gouerned, except wee deliuer

some

Some things to them, and receiue likewise some things agayne. One thing is to be laught at, that I should refuse Jupiter for my father, being so acknowledged by his oracle: as who saith, the answer of the gods were in my power. He profered the name of his sonne unto mee, which was not a thing vnmete for the things we purposed. I would wishe that the Indians belaued me to be a god: for the successe in warre standeth much by fame, and that which is falsly belueued, sometyme worketh the effect of things true. Doe you note me giuen to exceisse and prodigalitie, because I garnished your armour with gold and silver: My purpose was to shew me accustomed with such things nothing to be more vile then such kinde of mettall, & to declare that the Macedons inuincible in other things, could not be overcome with gold it selfe. After this manner I shall blind the eyes of the barbarous, which are wont at the first sight to wonder at things, be they neuer so base and vile. And in that we shew to make no estimation of it, we shall declare to all men that we are not come for desire of gold nor silver, but to subdue the whole world: From which glozy thou traitour, thou wouldst haue bereaued me, and betrayed the Macedons (I being slaine) to the barbarous nations. I am exhorted to be your parents. As it needful I should make him priue what I haue determined of them: no I will not: and to that intent he might die with the greater dolour, if he hath any care or memory of them. It is long agoe since I did for doe the custome of putting the innocent parents and kinsfolke of traitours to death with the offenders. And I now proferre to pardon and haue the all in the same estimation I had before. I know why thou wouldst haue thy master Calistenes brought forth, which onely esteemed thee, being of his sort: because thou desirest to heare pronounced of his mouth, those railing words, which eue now thou didst spit out against me. If he had bene a Macedon borne, I had brought him into the place with thee: a worthy master for such a disciple, but being borne in another countrey he is subject to another law.

When he had spoken these words, he dismissed the

the counsel, & commanded all such as were condemned, to be deliuered to the souldiers of their owne hands: Who because they would declare by some cruelty & loue they bare towards their prince, slue them al by torments. Calistenes also died vpon the racke, innocent of the conspiracie against the kings person, but a man not pliable to the custome of the court, & abhorring from the disposition of flatterers. There was neuer thing y brought the Greeks in greater indignation against Alexander, then y he not onely killed, but caused to be tormented to death, & that without iudgement, a man endued with godly manners and good sciences, by whom he was perswaded to liue, when he purposed to haue dyed for sorow that he had slaine Clitus: which his cruelty, repentance followed that came too late. But lest he might nourish idlenes, apt for sowing of seditious rumors, he marched toward India, alwaies more glorious in war the after his victory. The whole country of India lieth chiefly towards y east, containing more in length then in bredth. The north parts be ful of mountaines & hills, but al y rest of y land is plain, hauing many faire riuers, which running out of y mount Caucasus, do passe thorow y country. Indus is more cold the any other riuers, whose water is not unlike y color of y sea. But of al y riuers in y Orient Ganges is most excellēt, which running from y south, passeth directly thorow many great mountains, untill that by the encounting of rockes,

his course is turned toward the East, where it is received into the red sea: the violence of the streame breaketh downe his bankes, swallowing in trees, and much of the ground. In many places the streame is kept in with rocks, where upon it beateth: But where the ground is more large, and maketh many Ilands. The greatnes of Ganges is much encreased by Acesines, which meete before they enter into the Sea: At their meeting the water is violently troubled, whiles the one resisteth the others entrie, neither of them seeme to giue place to other. Diardnes is a riuer of the lesse fame, because it runneth in the vttermost boundes of India: but yet it bringeth forth Crocodiles, as the Nile doeth, and also Delphines, with monsters vnknown to other nations. Crooked Crimanthus with his many turnings and reflexions, is consumed by the inhabiteurs with watering their ground, which is the cause that when it draweth nere the sea, it becommeth very litle, and beareth no name. There be many other riuers that do deuide the country, but none of them be so famous as these, because they doe not runne so far. The North winde doeth blast and harme most those partes that be next vnto the Sea: But those windes be so broken with the tops of the mountaines, that they cannot endamage the inward partes of the countrey, wherefore fruites be very plentifull there and perfect. But that region both differ so much from the ordinary course of

tyme

tyme in other partes of the world, that when other countries be burned most with the sunne, India is couered ouer with snow. And when other places be frozen, the heate is there most intollerable, and yet there appeareth not any naturall cause why it should be so. The colour of the India sea not differing much from the water of other seas, did take his name of king Crithrus, whereof the ignorant tooke opinion, the water of those seas was red. The land is very abundant of flaxe, whereof the more part of their garments be made. The twigges of the trees be so tender, that they receiue the print of letters like waxe. The birds by teaching, counterfeit mens voyces. There be many beastes which are not bred amongst other nations. Rhinoceroses be there brought forth, but not bred. The Elephants of that country be stronger then those that be made tame in Affrike, and their bignesse doe answer vnto their strength. The water of the riuers doe cary downe golde, and runne mildly without any great fall. The Sea both cast vpon the shore both pearles and precious stones, whereof proceeded the cause of their great riches, after their merchandise was once knowne to other nations, the purginges of the seas beyng then esteemed, as mans fantasy would make the price. The disposition of the men (as in all other places) be according to the situation of the countries they dwell in. They make their garments of lianen cloth, which couer their bo-

les

dies downe to their feete. They binde soles vn-
 der their feet, and wrappe rolles of linnen about
 their heads. Such as be in any degree either of
 nobilitie, or riches, haue precious stones hanging
 at their eares; and couer all their armes with
 bracelets & ornaments of gold. They vse great
 curiositie in kembing of their heads, which they
 round very seldome. They haue without any
 forme of grauitie, all partes of their face, sauing
 their chinne. But the excesse in voluptuousnes
 (which they call magnificence) vsed by them,
 doeth exceed the vices of all nations. When their
 will is to be scene abroad, their seruants cary
 about them perfuming pannes of siluer, and fill
 all the wayes where they goe with swete sa-
 uours: they themselves be borne in litters of
 gold hanging full of pearles, and the garments
 they weare, be of gold and purple together. The
 armed men follow their litter, and such as be of
 their gard, amongst whom there be birds borne
 vpon boughes, which they had taught alwayes
 to sing, when they be occupied in earnest mat-
 ters. In the kinges palace there be pillars of
 gold carued about with vines of gold, wherein
 the images of those birdes they delight most in,
 be artificially wrought. The court is open to
 all commers. When the kinges doe kembe and
 dresse their heads, then they vse to giue answer
 to the Embassadours, and to doe iustice vnto
 their people. When their soles be taken of, their
 feete be annointed with swete ooures. The

great

greatest trauell they take, is when they hunte
 wilde beastes enclosed in Parkes, which they
 strike whiles their Concubines be singing and
 dauncing with them. The arrowes that they
 shote, be of two cubites long, which doe not the
 effect of the force they be shot withall, by reason
 of their weight, which is an impedimēt to their
 swiftnesse, wherein the propertie of the arrowe
 chiefly consisteth. In small iourneys they vse to
 ride on horsebacke: but when they haue to tra-
 uell further, they be caried vpon Elephantes,
 whose huge bodics be couered all ouer with
 gold. And because no vice should want amongst
 their corrupt maners, great routes of concubines
 do follow them in golden litters. The Queenes
 haue their bands separte by themselves, which
 in all excesse of voluptuousnes be nothing infe-
 rior vnto the kings. It belongeth to the women
 there to dresse meat, and they also serue men of
 wine, wherof there is great plenty amongst the
 Indians. When y king hath largely drunke, &
 is fallen in a sleepe, his concubines vse to cary him
 into his chāber, calling vpon their gods, with a
 song after their countrey maner. Who would
 thinke y amongst al these vices, there were any
 regard had of vertue. There is amongst the a rude
 & vnciuil kind of people, who they call wise mē,
 which count it y most glorious thing to prevent
 their own death, & they vse to burne themselves
 whiles they be aliue. It is imputed for a great
 shame to such as either cannot well stir for age,

or

or haue not their perfect health, if they prolong their life till naturall death approch: For there is no honour giuen to those bodies that dye for age. They thinke the fires be defiled, if the bodies be not alive that be burned in them. Such as live in cities after a ciuile maner, attaine to the most apt knowledge of the starres moving, and of the prophesieng of things to come. For they cannot thinke that any man doeth shorten his life, that looketh for death without feare. They esteeme those for gods, whom they begin once to worship, and specially trees, the violating of the which, they forbid vnder payne of death. They count after 50. dayes to the month, enotwithstanding limite their yeeres as they do in other places. They marke not their times by such course of the Moone as is commonly vsed: that is, from the full Moone, but from the first quarter, when she beginneth first horned: and by counting after the same maner, make them the shorter. There be many other things reported of them, with the which I thought not necessary to interrupt the order of this history. As Alexander entred into India, the princes of the countrey came vnto him, submitting themselves and declaring, that he was the third man that euer came amongst them, beyng begotten of Jupiter. They said that Hercules and Bacchus was not knownen to them, but onely by fame, but they reioyced that they might behold him presently with their eyes. Alexander recei-
ued

ued them with all gentlenes he could deuise: & willed the to accompany him, because he would vse them as guides in his iourney. But when he sawe that the whole number came not, hee sent Ephestion and Perdicas with part of his army before, to subdue such as would not submit themselves, and willed the to go forwardes till they came to the riuer of Indus, and there to make boates, wherby he might transport his army: And because they had to passe many riuers, the boats were so deuised, that they might be taken asunder to be caried in cartes, and afterwards ioyned againe together. He appointed Craterus to follow him with the Bhalanx: and he with such horsemen and footemen as were light armed, went before, and beyng encountred on his way, fought with a small battell, and did drive his enemies into the next city. When Craterus was come (to the intent he might strike terrour amongst those people that had not yet proued the Macedons force) he commaunded y when they wanne the citie, they should kil both man, woman, and child, and burne the same to the hard ground: But whiles he rid about the walles, he was stricken with an arrowe. Notwithstanding the citie was wonne, and all put to the sword, the very houses not escappng the victors cruelty. After this he subdued an obscure nation, and came to a citie called Pisa. It chanced that whiles they encamped in a Wood before the city, there fell a cold in the night, that

more afflicted the Macedones, then euer it had done before in any other place: Against y^e which they prepared the remedy that was next at hand, and cut downe the wood to make them great fires: The flame whereof caught the sepulchres belonging to the citie, which by reason they were made of Cedar, were sone set on fire, and neuer left burning, till they were all consumed. That fire made both an alarme in the citie, and to the campe: for thereby the citizens iudged y^e their enemies would make some attempt against them, and the Macedons perceiued by the barking of the dogs, and noise of men, that the Indians would salie out vpon them. Wherefore Alexander issuing out of his camp in order of battell slue such of them as attempted the fight. Thereupon, they within the citie became of diuers opinions, some were minded to yeld, and other thought good to aduenture the extremitie. When Alexander vnderstood of their deuision, he caused his man to abstaine from slaughter, & onely to maintaine the siege. At length they were so wried with the discommodities of the warre, that they yelded themselves. They affirmed their originall to come of Bacchus, who indeed builded their city at the fote of a mountain called Perce: The quality of which mountain being reported to Alexander by the inhabitants, he sent vitails before, & passed thither with his whole army, encamping vpon the top thereof. The mountain grew ful of vines and iuy, as

bound

bounding wth springs y^e flowed out in euery place. The same was also plentiful of many kindes of apples of most pleasaunt taste, the ground also brought forth corne without any cultuation. There grew also plenty of Laurell trees, with many kindes of wild fruit. I cannot impute it to any motion of religion, but rather to plenty & wantonnes, that caused the to repaire thither: where, of the iuy & vine leaues, they made themselves garlands, & ran vp and downe after a dissolute maner, all the hollowes & valleys thereabout rebounding with y^e voyce of so many thousands, calling vpon Bacchus, to whome y^e place was dedicate: Which licence & liberty begun of a few, was spreadde so sodainly throughout the whole army, that the souldiers scattered abroad without order, lay here & there reposing themselves vpon the grasse & leaues that they had gathered together, as it had bene in a time of quiet & most assured peace. Which licentiousnes of the souldiers rising by chance, Alexander did not withstand, but x. daies together made feasts to Bacchus, during which time he banqueted his whole army. Who can therefore deny but y^e greatnes of fame & glozy, is often a benefit rather of fortune the of vertue: for their enemies had no hart to set vpon the whiles they were drowned in this excess of banqueting, drunkenship & droulines, but were as much afraid of their drunken noise, as if they had heard their cry encountering with them in battell: Which felicitie preseruyng them here,

C. y.

did

did afterwards defend them after the same manner in the midst of their enemies, returning as it were in triumph from the Ocean sea, when they were given al to feasting and drunkennes. When Alexander descended from the mountain, he went to a country called Medala, which the inhabitors forsooke and fled to the woods and the wild mountaines: and therefore hee passed from thence into Acadoza, which he found both burned and abandoned likewise of the inhabitors: whereby of necessitie he was compelled to vse the warre after another manner. For he deuided his army into diuers partes, and shewed his power in many places at once. By which means he oppressed them before they could provide, and subdued them to their vtter ruine. Ptholomeus tooke most cities, but Alexander was the greatest, and afterwards ioined againe his army together, which he had thus deuided. That done, he went forwards and passed a riuer called Choaspe, where he left Cenon to besiege a rich city called Bezira, and he himselfe went to Hazage, where Assacanus being dead, had left the dominion both of the countrey and the city, to his mother Cleophes. There were 30. my. footmen, to defend that city, which both was well fortified, and strong of situation, being enclosed vpon the East with a swift riuer, hauing steepe banks defending the city, that it could not be approached on that side. Vpon the South and the West parts, nature (as it were for y^e nonce)

had

had planted high rockes lying betwixt them, & deepe hollowes and pits made of old antiquitie, where as the rockes ceased, there began a ditch of a wonderful depth and hiddenesse. The wall wherewith the city was enclosed, was 35. furlongs in compasse, wherof the nether partes were builded of stone, and the vpper partes of clay: Yet stones were mixed with the clay, to the intent that the fraile substance clingyng to the harder, the one should binde the other. And least the earth washed vpon with the raine, might fall altogether, there were stanchings of timber put betwixt to stay the whole worke: which couered ouer with hordes, was a way for men to goe vpon. Alexander beholding this kind of fortification, was vncertaine what to do. For he saw he could not approach to the wals but by fillyng of those ditches and hollow places: And that he could not otherwise fill them, then by making a mount, which was the onely way he had to bring his engines to the walles. But whilest he was viewing the towne after that maner, he was stricken from the wall with an arrow in the thigh. Which he pulled out, and without wrappying of his wound, called for his horse, and lettred not for his hurt to giue order for such thinges as he thought expedient. But at length when by hanging of his leg, the blood dree from the wound and waxed colde, whereby his hurt began to paine him, he then sayd that he was called the sonne of Jupiter:

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but

but yet he felt in himself the passions of a diseased body. Notwithstanding, he would not returne into the campe, before he had viewed all things that were necessary, and appointed all things he would haue done. After that the souldiers haue receiued their appointment, by placing downe of houses without the towne, they got great plenty of stufte to make the Mount withall. And by casting stocks of trees on heaps into the ditches and holow places, the Mount within ix. dayes was raised vp to the top of the walles, and the towers were planted vpon the same: such was the labour and diligence & souldiours vsed in the matter. The king before his wound was closed vp, went to see how & works went forward: and when he perceined them in such case, commended the souldiers for their diligence, and caused thinges to be brought to the walles, out of the which they that defended the walls, were sore afflicted with shot. And by reason they had not seene any such kinde of worke before, were wonderfully amazed, specially when they beheld the towers, and yet could not perceiue by what meanes they were moued, iudged those things to be done by the power of the Gods.

And besides, they could not thinke it a matter of mans inuention, that so great dartes and speares as came amongst them, should be shotte by engines, despairing therefore of the defence of their citie, they retired into the castle. And because

they could not be satisfied any maner of way till they had yielded themselves, they sent Embassadors to the king to aske pardon: which thing obtained at his hand, the Quene with a great traine of noble women came forth, bearyng in their handes cuppes of gold full of Wine: who presenting her litle sonne before the kings feste, not onely obtained pardon, but also restozement of her former dignitie. Wherefore some thought that her beautie procured her more fauour, then his mercy. But this is certaine, that the childe which afterwardeg she brought forth (whosoener did beget it) was called Alexander. From this place Polipercon was sent with a power vnto a citie called Mera, where he ouerthrew in battell the inhabiteurs that encountred with him, whereby he got the citie into his possession. There were many other Cities obscure of fame, that came into Alexanders handes by the abandoning of the inhabiteurs, which assembled themselves together in armour, and kept a rocke called Dozinis. The same was that Hercules had besieged the same before tyme in bayne, and by reason of an earthquake enforced to depart. When Alexander viewed this rocke, & saw how steepe it was and unpasseable, became boide of counsell, till such tyme as an olde man that knew wel the place, came to him with his two sonnes, offering for a reward to guide his men by a way vp to the top. Alexander promised them 4. score talents, and keeping one of his sonnes

sonnes as pledge, sent him to perfoyme that hee had promised. Mullinus the kings Secretarie was appointed with certaine souldiours light armed, to folow the guide, whose purpose was to deceiue the Indians by fetching a compasse about the rocke. But the same rocke was not as the more part bee, which lying a slope, hath wayes vp vnto the top by degrées. For it stode bolt vpight after the fashion of a butte, broad beneath, and euer as it grew upward, lesse and lesse, till it became sharpe in the toppe: And it was enclosed on the one side with the riuer of Indus, hauing high and steepe bankes, and vpon the other side with deepe ditches and hollow places ful of water and mud. Wherefore there could be deuised no way to win it, except those ditches were first filled. There was a Wood at hand, which the king commanded to be cut doune, and causing the boughes to be shredde of for the cariage, filled the holowes with the bare stocks. Alexander bare the first tree, & all the souldiers folowed after wth a couragious shoute: for there was no man y^e would refuse to do that they saw the king begin, so that within 7. daies y^e ditches and holow places were filled vp. When the king appointed the Agriās, & the archers, to go to the assault, & did chuse 30. yong mē of such as he iudged most apt for the purpose out of his band, appointing Charus & one Alexander, to bee their conductors, and exhorted Alexander that the remembrance of his name might make him hardy.

At

At the first because the hazard was so manifest, the king was not determined to aduenture hys own person, but when the trumpet blew to the assault, he was of such a ready courage, that hee could not absteine, but making a signe to hys garde that they should followe him, was y^e first that set foote vpon the rocke. When there were few contented to tary behinde, but many leste their araye whereas they stode in order of battaile, and folowed the king. The chaunce of many was miserable, whome the running Ryuer swallowed in, when they fell downe from the Rocke: Which sight was sorrowfull to such as were out of daunger, being admonished by the perill of other what they ought to feare themselves: hereupon their compassion being turned into feare, they lamented as well themselves, as those whom they sawe die before their faces. At length they went so far forth, that without getting of the Rocke, they could not retyze backe without great destruction. For their enemies rowled downe great stones vpon them, where with they were easily beaten downe, by reason the Rocke had so slipper and vnstable standing. Yet for all that, Charus and Alexander, which were appointed to the leading of the thyrty chosen souldiers, had gotten to the toppe, and began to fight hand to hande. But there were so many dartes cast at them from a far, that they receyued more woundes then they could giue, wherefore Alexander both mindfull of his name, and
of

of his promise, whilest hee fought moze egerly then warily, was enclosed about & slain. Whom when Charus sawe deade, he ranne vpon his enemies, and vnmindfull of all things sauing of reuenge, slew many with his pyke, and dyuers with his sword. But being laide by so many at once, he fell downe dead vpon the bodie of his frende. The death of these two so hardye young men, and of the reste, moued Alexander greatly: yet perceiuing no remedie in the matter, caused the retreit to be sounded. It was greatly for their sauegarde, that they retized by litle and litle without appearance of any feare. And the Indians contented to haue repulled theyr enemies, pursued not after them. Alexander here-uppon was determyned to leaue off his purpose, seing hee sawe no hope howe to winne the Rocke: yet he made a countenance as though hee meant to continue the siege still. For both he caused the wayes to be closed vp, & made an appoach with towers of wood, alwaies putting fresh men in place of them that wearied. When the Indians perceiued Alexanders obstinacie, two daies and two nights they banqueted continually, and plaid vpon tymbrels after their maner, to cause theyr enemies think that they had no doubt in the siege, but trusted surely to preuaile. The thyrde night the noise of the tymbrels ceased, & many torches were sene burning, which the Indians had lighted to see which way they might escape downe the rocke
in

In the darke night. Alexander sent Balacrus to discover the matter, who founde that the Indians were fledde, and that the Rocke was abandoned. When a signe was giuen that the whole army shoulde giue a shoute together, whereby they did stryke such feare amongst their enemies flying without order, that many of them thinking their enemies at their backes, leaped downe the Rockes, and slew themselves, whereof some mayned in theyr falling were lefte behind by their fellows that fled away. Thus the king being victor of the place, rather then of y men, testified notwithstanding with solempne sacrifices vnto the Gods a greatnes of victorie, and set vp Alters vpon the Rocke to Minerua and Victoria. And though the guides that hee appoynted to his light armed menne, performed not so much as they promised, yet their rewarde was truely giuen them. And the rule of the Rocke with the countrey thereabout, was committed to Sisocostus, he himselfe going forwardes with his army from thence to Echolina. But vnderstanding that certeine streights thorough the which he should passe, were kept by one Erix with twentie thousande armed men: He committed that part of his army that were heauie armed to Cenon, to bee brought on by soft iourneies, and going before in person wyth the slyngers and Archers, put his enemies to flyght making the way cleare for his armye to passe that followed after. The Indians whether

ther it were for the hatred they bare to their capitaine, or els to get the fauour of the victour, killed Erix as he fled away, and brought his head and his armour to Alexander. He considering the foulness of the acte, would not honoꝝ the doers for the example thereof, nor punish them, because they serued his purpose. From thence by xvj. remouings hee came to that parte of the Riuer of India, where Ephestion had prepared all things in such sort as he had commission.

One Omphys was kyng of that Countrey, which befoze had perswaded his father to submit himsele vnto Alexander. Who immediately vpon his fathers death sent Embassadors vnto him to know his pleasure, whether he should take vpon him as a king befoze his comming, or els liue priuately in the meane season: And although it was permytted him to gouerne as a king, yet he would not vse the authoritie that was graunted him. He had caused Ephestion to be receiued in the best sort that he could deuise, but notwithstanding had not visited him, because hee would not commit his person to anie mans fidelitie but to the kinges. When he vnderstode of Alexanders comming, he went to wardes him with his whole power: Whose elephants by small distances mixed in battayle amongst his footemen, shewed a far off lyke castles. At the first Alexander did not take hym as a frend, but as an enemy, and therefore set his men in order of battaile, and his horsemen

in winges in readines for to fight. When Omphys vnderstode the erroꝝ of the Macedons, hee commaunded his men to stay, and putting hys spurres to his horse, rode for wardes alone. Alexander did the like, putting no doubt whether he were a frend or an enemy, but thought himsele sure, either thzough his owne manhode, or the others fidelitie. Their meeting as it appeared by their countenances was very frendly: but for want of an interpretoꝝ, they could not speake to gither. Therefore after they had called one vnto them, the Indyen king declared vnto Alexander, that the cause why he met him with an armye, was to put immediately his whole power into his handes, and had not (he saide) tarped for treat of any assuraunce by messengers, but vpon trust onely had committed both his persō and kingdome vnto him, whome he knewe to make warre for the winning of glozie and fame and therefore could not feare in him any perfidie. Alexander reioiced to see his simplicitie, and proffered him his right hande as pledge of hys promise, and restozed to him againe his kyngdome. He presented vnto Alexander lvi. Elephantes, with many other beastes of exceeding greatnesse, and thze thousand Bulles, which is a cattell of great value in those countreys, & much esteemed of kinges. Alexander enquyzed of him whether hee had vnder his dominion moze souldiers, or tyllers of the ground. He answered that he was dyguen of necessitie to haue

more souldiers, because he was at war with 2. kinges, whose kingdomes lay beyond the Riuer of Hydaspis. Their names were Abiasares, and Porus: but the authoritie remained in Porus: And said that he was prepared, & resolved to adventure the hazard of the battaile with such of them, as should inuade him first. Whereupon Alexander graunted vnto Dymphis, both to take vp on him the diademe, and the name of his father that was called Taxiles: y^e custom of the country being such, that the name euer followed y^e kingdomes whosoever enioyed it. When he had receiued Alexander honourably in hospitalitie three daies, the fourth day declaring howe much corne he had deliuered to Ephestion and to his army, he presented to the king & to al his friends crownes of golde, and besides of coyned siluer 80 talentes. Alexander reioiced so much in his good will, that he both retourned againe to him his giftes, and gaue him besides a thousand talentes of the spoile he brought with him, with much plate of golde and siluer, many garmentes after the Persian maner, and 30. of his owne horses, with the same furnitures they wore when hee did ride vpon them: which liberalitie as it bound Dymphis, so it greatly offended the minds of the Macedons. For Meleager at supper, when he had deeply dronke said: he was very glad that Alexander had yet founde one in India, whome he iudged worthe to receiue the gift of a thousand talentes. The king bearing in minde, how much

much he had repented the slaying of Clytus for the rashnes of his tongue, refrained his anger, but yet tolde him that enuious men were euer tormentors to themselves. The nexte day the Embassadors of king Abiasares came vnto Alexander, who according vnto theyr commission offered all thinges vnto his will: Whereupon promise and assurance being confirmed, they returned againe to their maister. Alexander therefore thinking that thzough the greatnes of his name, Porus might bee brought to do the lyke, sent Cleochares to him to demaund tribute, and to sommon him to come and make his homage, when he shoulde enter the boundes of his kyngdome. Porus made answer, that of those two requests he would performe one, which was to meete him at the entrie of his kingdom, but y^e should be in armes and with a power. Alexander therefore hauing determined to passe the riuer of Hydaspis. Barzentes that had bene author of the Rebellion amongst the Arachosians, was taken and brought to him bound with xxx. Elephants: an apt assistance against the Indians, that were wont to put more trust in those beastes, then in the force of theyr owne nation. Camarus king of a small portion of Indis, that had confederated wyth Barzentes therein, was brought likewise bounde vnto him. Wherefore committing them both to prison, and the Elephantes to Dymphis, came vnto the Ryuer of Hydaspis. But Porus laye in Campe on the

the further side to let his passage, hauing fowre
score and five Elephants of huge strength of bo-
die, three hundred wagons of warre, and thyrtye
thousand footemen, amongst whom there were
many Archers, whose shaftes (as hath been said
before) was more heauie then they could well
welde. Porus himselfe did ride vppon an Eli-
phant greater then all the rest, who also being
of big stature, appeared notable in his armour,
that was garnished with golde and siluer, ha-
uing also a courage equall vnto the strength
of his bodie, and so great a wisdom, as was
possible to be found amongst such rude nations.
The Macedons were not so much afraid with
the sight of their enemies, as they were with
the greatnes of the Riuer that they had to passe,
which being foure furlonges in breadth, and so
deepe that no bottom could be found, appeared to
them like a great Sea. And yet the largenesse
thereof mitigated nothing the violence of the
streame, but ranne with no lesse furie then if
it had bene narrowe, appearing by the repercus-
sion of the water in many places, to bee full of
great stones in the bottome. This Riuer being
sufficient to feare them of it selfe, the sight of the
further banke full of horse and men, was an in-
crease of theyr terroz: Where the Elephantes,
that had bodies of an vnreasonable bignes stood
in their sight, being prouoked to bray of pur-
pose, to the intent that with theyr horrible noise
they should fill theyr enemies eares full of feare.

Though

Though the Macedons were couragious, and
had theyr harts full of good hope, as they which
oftentimes had had experience of theyr owne
ades: Yet theyr enemies, and the Riuer both
together made them wonderfully amazed. For
they could not thinke howe to keepe a stedfast
course to the further shore in so weake and tot-
tering boates, nor when they were there, coulde
see how to arryue in suretie. There were manie
Ilandes in the midst of the Riuer, into the
which both the Indians and the Macedons dyd
swimme, holding theyr weapons about theyr
heades: there they skirmished together in the
sight of both kinges, which by experyment of
such small thinges, made tryall of the successe of
the whole. But amongst all the Macedons
there were two noble young men called Sim-
machus and Picanoz, excelling in boldnesse and
in desperate attempts, which thzough their con-
tinuall good fortune, had gotten a courage to de-
spise all perill. Other young men of the most
hardiest, toke them for theyr Capitaines, and
without any other armor (sauiug theyr pykes)
swomme ouer into an Iland being full of theyr
enemies, where thzough boldnesse onely, they
slew many of them, and so might haue returned
with glorie, if rashnesse (where it findeth prof-
perous successe) could euer be content with mea-
sure. But whilest with skorne and pryde they
taryed for their enemies, they were sodainly
enclosed of such as pryncely swom ouer the Ry-

uer,

uer, and were kylled with dartes which they cast at them from a farre. Such as in this case escaped theyr enemies, were eyther drowned with the vyolence of the water, or the eddies of the streame. This fyght put Porus in greate courage, that saue all their dvinges from the further shore: And though Alexander was long vncerteine what way to take, yet at length hee deceiued his enemy by this policie. There was an Ilande in the Riuer greater then the rest, and apte to hide his deuise, by reason it was full of wood, and had a great rampyre cast vppon that banke, that was towards his enemies: Where both his footmen, and horsemen might stand couered from the sight of the Indians: & the rather to turne their eyes another way from the spying out of that opportunitie, he caused Ptholomeus with a great number of his horsemen to shewe them-selues agaynst theyr enemies far of from the Ilande, and to put the Indians in feare of theyr crie, making euer a shewe as though they would swymme ouer the Ryuer: Which thing Ptholomeus did manie dayes continually together, to the intente that Porus shoulde be enforced to remooue his power to that parte to withstande him, and by that means brought them out of the syght of the Ilande. Alexander also caused his owne pauilion to be set vppon y^e Ryuers side ouer agaynst his enemies, and all the pompe that pertained to the state of a king to be set forth within their view, with the same

bande standing in sight, which was wont to remaine about his person. Furthermore Atalus, that was equall with Alexander in yeres and like to him in face and personage, stood ther openly apparailled like a king, that it might appere to Porus, that Alexander was still remaining there, and went not about to passe the Riuer. The execution of this deuise was first letted by a Tempest, whereby afterwardes it was furthered, and brought to good effect: fortune euer vsing to turne her discommodities in to good successe towards him. For when the enemies were thus attente to obserue Ptholomeus that lay beneath vpon the Riuer agaynst them: And Alexander with the rest of the army busy about the passing of his men into the Iland before mentioned: Where fell sodainly a greate storme, scarcely tollerable to such as laye within their cabbens, which so much afflicted the souldiers abroad, that they forsooke theyr boats, and fledde againe to lande. And yet for all this theyr clamor and theyr noyse was not heard of their enemies through the vehemencie of the stoure. As this tempest began sodainly, so it sodainly ceased: but the Cloudes remayned so darke, y^e there appeared not so much light, as the souldiers might know one another by the face, when they spake together: which darkenesse might haue feared some other man, considering they had to row in a riuer they knew not, their enemies peradventure, waiting for the at their landing.

ding, whether they went, as blind men that for
glozie fought for perill. But Alexander bled the
thing that put other men in terror, to serue for
purpose, and willed that euery man (vpon a sign
giuen) shoulde enter into their boates with si-
lence: his boate was the first that launched fro
the shore, towarde the further side that was
voyde of his enemies, Porus onely keeping his
watch against Phtolomeus. There was but
one boate that sticke faste by the way vpon a
Rocke, and all the other recovered the lande.
Alexander then commaunded his souldiers to
prepare their armour, and fall into aray: And
whilest he was deuising his men, to put them
in order of battaile, marching towards his ene-
mies: it was reported to Porus, that a great
number of men of war were come ouer the Ri-
uer, and landed, which would streightwayes
giue him the battaile. But hee at the first (ac-
cording to the fault y is in mans nature through
the ouer much confidence he had in himselfe) be-
lieued not the matter, but thought that Abiasa-
res, which was confederate with him, had come
in his assistance. Yet when the day appeared, and
the matter was manifest, Porus then put forth
a hundred armed wagons, and foure thousand
horsemen, vnder the leading of Hages his bro-
ther, to keepe Alexander doing. They counted
those Wagons their principall force: for euery
one of them caried 6. men, 2. archers, 2. with tar-
gets, and two that ruled the horses, which were
not

not vnarmed, but when it came to y fight, they
let their reines loose, and bestowed theyr darts
amongst their enemies. But those of the Wag-
gons serued that daye to small purpose: for the
showre that had fallen more violently then was
accustomed, had made the fields so wet and slab-
bie, that the Wagons could not stirre, but stuck
in the myre, and became immouable: Where-
as Alexander beeing wythout baggage, or a-
ny thing that might bee impediment vnto him,
fiercely inuaded his enemies. The Scythians
and the Dahans were the first that gaue the on-
set: and Perdicas was appointed with the horse-
men to charge vpon the right hand battaile of
the Indians. When the battailes beginning
to ioyne on all partes, they that had the charge
of the wagons, counting them the last refuge,
slacked their reynes, and rushed forwarde into
the midst of the fight. The coming of these
Wagons appeared to be a matter dangerous,
and doubtfull to both parties. For at the first
brunt both the Macedons were borne ouer, and
ouerthrowne by them: and when the wagons
came in anye rough or myrie places, the In-
dians were throwne out of them. For when
the horses that drew them were once galled,
and put in feare, they caried the Wagons
without gouernement, and tumbled part in the
myre, and parte in the Ryuer: A fewe tra-
uersed the fieldes, and fled for succour vnto Po-
rus: who seeing his wagons scattered ouer all

the fieldes, and wander about wythout theyr
Kulers, distributed the charge of his Elephants
amongst his freendes, and placed his footemen,
and Archers behinde them. He had many that
sounded vpon tymbrels, (being Instrumentes
that the Indians vse in steede of Trumpettes)
wherewith their eares were so filled, that the
noyse of theyr enemies litle moued them.
They bare also the Image of Hercules in the
front of theyr sote battaile, which was done for
an encouragement for them to fyght well, and
for a note of reproofe and offence to them that
shoulde flye from that theyr standard. For it was
losse of life to them that left it in the field. So
that the feare which they conceiued of Hercules
that sometime had bene their enemy, was
then tourned into a veneration and Religion.
The sight both of the Elephantes, and Porus
himselfe, astonied the Macedons, and caused
them a while to stave. For the beastes being
set in order amongst the armed men, shewed a
farre off like high towres, and Porus in maner
exceeding the stature of manye, the Elephant
wherupon he did ride, was a setting forth vnto
his highnesse, which excelled so much all the
other Elephantes, as hee himselfe excelled the
rest of the men: So that Alexander beholding
both Porus and his power, saide: that at length
he had found a pearle equal vnto his heart. For
wee haue to doe (quoth hee) both with terrible
beastes, and with notable menne of warre.

And

And thereupon he looked towards Cenon, and
saide vnto him: When I with Ptholomeus,
Pardicas, and Ephestion shall set vpon the lefte
battaile of our enemies, and you shall see vs in
the heate of the fight, doe you then set forwarde
my right battaile, and freshly assaile them whē
you see them begin to fall out of order. Antigon-
us, Leonatus, and Taron, doe you benche your
power against their maine battaile, & set vpon
their front. Our pikes be long, and strong, & can
not serue to any better vse, then against the E-
lephants, wherewith they may be thrust through
and such ouerthrowne as be caried vpon theyr
backes. The Elephantes be but an vncerteine
force, which vse to do most harme to their owne
parte: for as they vse to go against his enemies
so long as they be at commandement: so when
they be once in feare, they tourne against theyr
owne side, and shewe mosse rage towardes
them. He had not so soone spoken those wordes,
but he put spurres to his horse, passing agaynst
his enemies: and when according to his ap-
pointmēt he had giuen the charge, Cenon with
a great force brake vpon the left battaile. And
the Phalanx at the same instant brake in amon-
gest the myddest of their enemies. When Po-
rus sawe the horsemen giue the charge, hee put
forwarde his Elephantes to encounter them.
But they being slow beastes, & not apt sodainly
to moue, were preuented by the swiftnes of the
horses: and their bowes stode not them in any

great

great stead: for by reason their arrows were so long and heavy, that they could not nocke them within their bowes, except they staid first their bowes vpon the ground, and the ground being so slipperie that they coulde haue no perfect footing: whilest they were preparing themselves to shoote, their enemies were come amongst them. Then euery man fledde from the order that Porus had giuen, as it chaunceth often tymes amongst troubled mindes, where feare beareth more rule then the capytaines appointment. For in so manie partes as their armie was deuoyded, so manye generalles became amongst them. Some would ioyne all theyr battailes in one, other would haue them deuoyded. Some willed to stay, and other to go forwards, and enclose their enemies about: There was no generall consultation amongst them. Porus notwithstanding accompanied with a few (with whome shame preuayled more then feare) assembled such together, as were disperckled abroad, and went forwards agaynst his enemies, setting his Elephantes in the fronte of the battayle. They put the Macedons in feare, troubling with their vnwonted crye, not onely the horses that naturallie doe feare them, but also amazed the menne, and disturbed theyr order. In so much that they which a litle before thought themselves victors, looked about which way to flie, and saue themselves: Whych thyng when Alexander perceyued, he

he sent against the Elephants, the Agrians and Thracians, that were men light armed, and after to skirmish a far off, then to fight hand to hand. They gaue the Elephantes and their gouernours much adoe, and sore afflicted them with the multitude of their darts, and arrowes that they bestowed amongst them: And the Phalanx came constantly forwards agaynst them that were in feare. But such as preased ouer forward in fighting with the Elephantes, procured their manifest destruction: who being trampled to death with their feete, were an example to other, not to be ouer hastie in aduenturing themselves. The most terrible sight was, when the Elephantes with their long trunkes called Proboscides, tooke men in their armour from the ground, and deliuered them vp to their gouernours. The battaile was prolonged doubtfully, till the day was farre spent: the souldiours sometyme flying from the Elephants, and sometyme pursuing after them, vntill that with a certaine kinde of crooked weapons called Copidæ (prepared for the purpose) they cut the Elephants vpon the legges. Whose the Macedons had right aptly deuised: for not onely the feare of death, but also the feare of a new kinde of torment in death, caused them to leaue nothing vnprooued. Finally, the Elephants wearied with wounds, with their violent struggling, did cast their gouernours to the earth, and tare them in pieces: for they were put in such feare,

feare, that they were no more hurtfull to their enemies, but driven out of the battell like sheep. Porus being forsaken of the more part of his men ceased not to cast dartes, whereof hee had plenty prepared vpon his Elephant, amongst them that flocked about him, whereby he wounding many, by reason he lay open to euery mans blowe, was layd at on all partes, till he had receiued ix. woundes behinde and before, through the which he bled so much, that he had no power to cast any more, but for feeblenesse they fell out of his hands. The Elephant also which he did ride vpon, pricked forwards with fury, made a great disturbance amongst the Macedons, vntill that his gouernour seeing the king so faint, that he let fall his dartes, and to be almost past his remembrance, stirred the beast to flie away, whom Alexander followed in all that he might: but his horse that was thrust in with many woundes, fell downe dead vnder him: Wherefore whiles he was about to change, and take another, was cast farre behind.

In the meane season Tariles brother, that was sent by Alexander vnto Porus, began to exhort him that he should not be so obstinate to proue the extremitie, but rather yeeld himselfe vnto the victor. But he notwithstanding y his strength was nere past, and his blood failed, yet stirred vp at a known voyce, sayd, that he knew him to be the brother of Tariles, a traitour to his king and his countrey, and with that worde

tooke

tooke a dart which by chaunce was not fallen away, and threw it so at Tariles brother, that it passed through the middest of his brest vnto his backe. And hauing shewed this last proofe of his manhood, fled agayne more fast then before. But when the Elephant, through many woundes that he had receiued, fainted in like sort, then he stayed, and turned his footemen towards his enemies that pursued. By that tyme Alexander was come nere him, who vnderstanding the wilfulnesse of Porus, willed none to be spared that made resistance, Whereupon euery man threw dartes agaynst Porus, and such footemen as stood in his defence: wherewith at length he was oppressed, that he began to fall from his Elephant. When the Indian which was his gouernour, thinking that Porus desired to haue lighted, caused the beast after his accustomed maner to bend towards the earth, which submitting himselfe, all the rest as they were taught, bowed downe their bodies likewise, which was the cause of Porus taking, and of the rest. When Alexander sawe Porus body vpon the ground, caused hym to be spoiled, thinking he had bene dead, and diuers ranne about hym to pull of his harneys, and his Vesture: which thyng when the Elephant sawe, he beganne to defend his master, runnyng vpon his spoilers, and went about to lyfte hym agayne vpon his backe: whereupon they all setting vpon the Elephant,

flew

due him, and laid Porus in a cart. Whom when Alexander did behold, lifting vp his eyes, & moued with no hatred, but with compassion sayd vnto him :

What mischief and madnesse was in thy mynde, hearing of the fame of mine actes, to hazard the battell with me, and my power, seeing Cariles was so nere an example of the clemencie that I vse to such as submit themselues :

To whom he made answere :

For so much (quoth he) as I am demanded a question, I will answere as freely as I am spoken vnto. Knowing mine owne strength, and not hauyng yet proued thine, I thought no man of greater power then my selfe, but now the successe of this battell hath declared thee to be mightier : And yet therein I do impure to my selfe not a litle felicitie, that I haue wonne the second place, and am next vnto thee.

He was asked moreover his opinion, after what maner he thought good the victory should be vsed.

Use it (quoth he) after such sorte, as this dayes fortune shall put in thy mynde, wherein there hath bene sufficient proufe shewed, how transitorie the felicitie of man is.

This admonishment auailed him more, then if he had submitted himselfe, or made any suite. For when Alexander sawe the greatnesse of his courage, and his heart so boyde of feare, that it could not be broken with any aduersitie, was moued not onely to giue him his life, but also honorably to entertaine him. For so long as he lay diseased of his wounds, he tooke no lesse care of his curing, then if he had fought in his quarrell. And when he was once healed (contrary to

to that which all men looked for) he receiued him among the number of his friendes, and enlarged his kingdome greater then before. There was nothing in Alexanders nature more perfect, or more constant, then that he would euer haue vertue in admiration, when it was such, that it deserued true praise and glory : and specially when he sawe the same in his enemy. For

when it chanced in any of his owne men, it was somewhat terrible vnto him, thin-

king that their fame might bee a de-

struction to his owne greatnesse,

which he euer thoght to grow

greater, as they were of

greatnesse that he

subdued.



THE NINTH BOOKE OF QVIN-

tus Curtius of the Actes of the great

Alexander, King of Ma-
cedon.



Alexander reioicing in so notable a victory, whereby he sawe the confines of the Orient opened vnto him, offred vp sacrifice vnto the sunne: and to cause hys souldiours to be more willing to goe forwarde in finishing the rest of y^e wars, assembled them together, and (after he had commended their doyngs) declared how in that latter battell, they had defeated and broken y^e force of all the Indians power, and should find from thenceforth nothing but a plentifull praise. For he sayd that in the countrey whereunto he was goyng, the riches chiefly remained that was so much spoken of throughout the whole worlde, In respect whereof, the Persians were but vile and baggage, and that occasion was now giuen them, not onely to fill their owne houses, but also all Macedonia and Greece with perles, with precious stones, with gold and with iuoy. The souldiours being desirous both of riches & glory, because they had neuer founde hys wordes

vaile,

vaile, promised him to do whatsoeuer he would haue them: whereupon he dimitted them full of good hope, and set them about the making of shippes, to the intent that hauyng ouer-runne all Asia, he might visite the Ocean sea, that was in the ende of all the worlde. The mountaynes next at hand were plentifull of timber to make shippes withall, in cuttyng downe whereof, the Macedons found Serpentes of such bignesse, as they had not scene before, and also Rhinoceroses, beastes that be seldome found in any other place, which name was giuen to them by the Greekes: for in the Indian language they are otherwise called. Alexander builded a citie vpon either side of the riuer of Hydaspis, which once performed, he gaue to euery one of his captains a crowne of gold, and a thousand pieces of gold besides: preferring and rewarding euery other, according to their qualitie, degree, and deseryng. Abiases, which had sent Embassadors vnto Alexander before the battaile fought with Porus, sent then Embassadors to him againe, offering to doe all things that he would appoint, so that he might keepe his body at libertie: for he desired not to lyue, except he might remaine a king: & he thought himselfe vnnext to raigne, after he had bene once a captiue. He signified againe to Abiases, y^e if his commyng should bee grieuous, he would not sticke to visite him in person. Hauing thus vanquished Porus, & passed the riuer of Hydaspis, he went forward into the inwarde

Inward partes of India, which was a countrey
 ful of great woods, and high trees, the aire very
 wholesome and temperate, the shadow of the trees
 mitigating the heate of the sunne, and the plenty
 of springs keeping the ground moist: There
 were also many serpents scene, whose scales gli-
 stered like gold: There was nothing more dan-
 gerous then the poison proceeding from them:
 for immediatly vpon the stinging, death folow-
 ed, till such time as the inhabiteurs of the coun-
 trey shewed a remedy. From thence through
 desertes they came vnto the great riuer of Via-
 rotis, whereunto there ioyned a great Wood,
 which hauing such trees as are not wont to be
 scene in other places, as also full of wilde Pe-
 cockes. Alexander removing his campe from
 thence, wanne a towne by assault, and takyng
 pledges, appointed them to pay tribute. After
 that he came to a great citie (after the maner of
 that countrey) which was both well walled, &
 also enuironed about with a marrisse. The in-
 habitants came forth against Alexander, & ioyn-
 ing their cartes together in a front, (wherein
 their custome was to fight) they profered hym
 the battell. Some occupied darts, some speares,
 and other ares, and with great agilitie leaped
 too & fro, to their cartes, when either they would
 relieue their fellowes that were weary of figh-
 ting, or els succour, or rescue such as were in di-
 stresse. This vnwonted kinde of fightyng put
 the Macedons at the first in feare, specially be-
 ing

ing hurt a farre of by their enemies, and not a-
 ble to come to hand stripes with them. But af-
 ter they had considered their disordered maner,
 they esteemed not their force, but enclosed their
 enemies about, and thrust them in with pikes,
 and the sooner to defeate them, they cut y^e bands
 wherewith the cartes were tied, to seperate the
 asunder. When they had after that maner lost
 big. C. of their men, they fled againe into the ci-
 tie, which the next day the Macedones did win
 by assault. Certaine there were that saued the-
 selues by flying, which seeing the Citie lost,
 swimmied ouer the water, and filled all the
 townes thereabout with feare. They declared
 of what insincible force their enemies were of,
 iudging them in respect of their power, rather
 Gods then men. When Alexander had gotten
 that citie, he sent Perdicas with a part of hys
 army to destroy the countrey, and committynge
 another part to Cumenes for the subduyng of
 such as would not become obedient, he with the
 rest of his power came vnto a strong city, which
 was the refuge of all the countrey thereabout.
 Notwithstanding that the inhabitants sent to
 Alexander for peace, yet they prepared neuer-
 thelesse for y^e war, by reason of a sedition which
 rose amongst them, y^e made the to be of diuers o-
 pinions: Some would rather haue endured any
 extremitie, the to yeld, & other thought they wer
 not able to make resistace, & whilest they differed
 so in opinions, & made no common consultation
 C. l. amongst

amongest themselves: Such as held opinion to yield up the city, opened the gates, and receiued in their enemies. And notwithstanding that Alexander had iust cause of displeasure against y^e contrary faction, yet he pardoned them all, and receiuing their pledges, remoued toward the next city. When the Indians that stood vpon the walles sawe the pledges that were brought before the army, whom they perceiued to be of the same nation, desired communication with the, who declaring both the kings clemency, and his force, did moue them to render vp their Citie, whose example the rest of the cities did follow. From thence he came into the city of Sophites, which is a nation (as the Indians thinke) most excellling in wisdom, best gouerned, and that haue the best customs amongst them. The children that be there gotten, are not nourished, and brought vp according to the will of their parents, but by the order of such as haue the charge committed vnto them to view the state of the Infants. If they perceiue any not apte to become adiuue, or els wanting any of their lims, they cause them straight wayes to be killed. They vse to marry without any respect of kinred they come of, or the greatnesse of parentage, making no choise, but in the shape of the body, which is the thing y^e is onely esteemed amongst the. The king himselfe was within the chiefe city of the country, against y^e which Alexander brought his power. The gates were shut, & no man appeared

in armes vpon the wals, to make any defence: wherefore he stood in doubt a great while, whether y^e city was abandoned, or els y^e the inhabitants had kept themselves secret for some policie. Whiles he remained in y^e expectation, sodainly the gate was opened, & the king (which in good lines of person excelled all the rest) came forth with his two sonnes. He wore a garment of gold & purple empaled, that couered the calf of his leg, & the soles he wore on his foete were set with precious stones. All his armes were garnished with perles, & had hanging at his eares two precious stones which were excellent both for bignesse and brightnes: and there he had a scepter of gold set with precious stones (called Berilli) which he (after his salutation made) with humble submissiō deliuered vnto Alexander, yielding both himselfe, his children, and his kingdom into his hands. There were in that countrey very notable dogs for y^e hunting of wild beasts, which specially were giuen to be eagre vpon the Lion. The king therfore to shew their force & propriety vnto Alexander, put 4. of them vnto a great lion, which straight waies caught him fast. The one which was accustomed to that office, tooke one of those dogs by the leg to plucke him from the Lion, and because he would not lose his hold, cut of his leg with a sword. But when the dogge stucke neuerthelesse vnto his game, hee was cut asunder in pece-meale, till such tyme as he died, hauing his teeth still fastened in the

Lions flesh, such a feruentnes of nature had wrought in those beasts, as we vnderstood by report. Sometime I am enforced to write things that I can scarcely beleue: For I neither dare affirme the things whereof I doubt, nor conceale such things as I haue receiued for trueth. Alexander leauing the king within his owne kingdome, came vnto the riuer of Nilus, & there ioyned with Ephestion, which had subdued the countrey thereabout. One Phegelas was king of the next nation, who commanding his subiectes to continue in tilling of the ground as they were wont to do; met Alexander with rich presents, refusing nothing that was commaunded him. When he had taried with him two dayes, and was determined the third day to haue passed the riuer, he found therein great difficultie by reason that the streame was so large, and full of great stones. He staid therfore a great while to be more fully aduertised of the state of those countries, and of al such things as were necessary for him to know. He vnderstood by Phegelas how beyond that riuer there stood a desert of x. dayes iourney, & next to that desert, the riuer of Ganges, which was the greatest riuer in al the Orient. He shewed that beyond Ganges there inhabited two nations called Gangaridans and Pharasians, whose king was called Aggrames, which used to come to the field with 20000 horsemen, 200000 footmen, 2000 armed waggons, and 3000 Elephants, which were coun-

ted the greatest terror. Those things seemed incredible vnto Alexander, and therfore enquired of Porus, if the things were true that had bene told him. He confirmed Phegelas report concerning the force of the nation. But he said y^e kyng was not come of noble bloud, but of y^e basest sort of men, whose father being a Warbour, & with great paine getting his daily liuing, came in fauour with the Queene, who brought him to haue all the doings about the king her husband, which was afterwards slaine by their treason. Then he vnder colour to become tutor vnto the children, vsurped the kingdome to himselfe, and putting the children to death, did beget him that was then king, being in hatred & disgrace of the people, as one that folowed more the maners of his fathers former estate, then such as did beseme the dignitie of a Prince.

When Alexander heard Porus affirme this matter, he became in great trouble of mynde, not that he regarded the multitude of his enemies, nor the force of their Elephantes: But he feared the greatnesse of the riuers, and the situation of the countrey, so difficult to enter vpon. He thought it a hard enterprize to seeke out nations so farre inhabiting in the vttermost boundes of the world. Yet on the other side the greedinesse of glory, and the vnsatiable desire of fame, made no place to seeme too far, nor no aduerture to be ouer hard. He doubted also that the Macedons which had passed so many countries,

and were woren aged with warres, would not be content to follow him ouer so many riuers, and against so many difficulties of nature lying in their way. For he iudged, that since they abounded, and were so laden with spoile, they would rather seeke to enioy such things as they had gotten, then to trauell any further in getting of more, he could not thinke the same appetite to be in his souldiours, that was in himselfe. For he compassed in his minde how to get the Empire of the whole world, into which matter he had but made his entrie: where as they wearied with trauaile, and thinking to haue past all perill, looked to enioy with speede, the fruite of all their labour: yet for all that, his affection overcame reason. For he assembled his armes together, and spake vnto them after this manner.

I am not ignorant (my souldiours) howe that there be now many rumours sowed amongst you by the Indians, purposely to put you in feare. But the vanity of their lying is not so new a thing, that it is able now to deceiue you. The Persians after that manner would haue made both the freights of Silicia, & the plaines of Mesopotamia terrible vnto you: yea, and put you in feare of the Riuers of Tygre and Euphrates: and yet we passed ouer the one of them, and passed the other by a bidge. The same neuer reporteth things truly, but maketh all things greater then they be in deede. When our glory though it be growen to a certaine perfection, yet it is more in fame then in effect. Which of you of late did thinke that you should haue bene able to endure the Elephantes, shewing a farre off like Castles? Who thought I could haue passed the Riuier of Hydaspis, when it was reported to be

much greater then it was: We should long agoe (my souldiours) haue fled out of Asia, if tales could haue caused vs to turne our backs. Thinke you that the number of Elephantes be greater then you haue seen herdes of beastes in other places: seeing they be so rare in the world, and so straunge to be taken: there must needs be much more difficultie in the making of them tame. The same vanitie that hath reported them to you to be of such number, hath numbred also their horsemen and footemen. Concerning the Riuers, the more broad they be, the more gently they runne. For such as be narrow and of small breadth, runne alwaies with the most vehement streame, whereas contrarywise, the broad rivers passe their courses more mildly. But you will peradventure say that all the peril is at the shoze, where your enemies shall waite for your arriual. Whatsoeuer the Riuier be, the hazard is all one at the landyng. But imagine that all those things were true. Whether is it the greatnesse of the beastes, or the multitude of men that put you in feare: As concerning the Elephantes, we haue had experience of them of late, how much more rigorously they rage against their owne partie, then against vs, what should we esteeme them, but onely abate the greatnes of their bodies, with such weapons as we haue prepared for the purpose: What matter is it whether they be of the like number that Porus had, or whether they be foure thousand, seeing we perceiue, that when two or three be once wounded, the rest bende themselves to flie away?

And forasmuch as they cannot well be gouerned when they be but few, when there be so many thousands together, then they must needs be a great impediment one to another, and breed a wonderfull confusion amongst themselves: they be so vnswayde by reason of their huge bodies, that they be neither apt to passe forwardes, nor yet to flye. I haue alwayes so little esteemed them, that when I haue had plenty of that kinde, I would neuer vse them: knowing very well that they be more dangerous to such as occupy them, then they be to their enemies. But peradventure is

is the multitude of their horsemen and footemen that doe moue you: were you neuer wont to fight against such numbers: or is it the first tyme that you haue encountered with disordered multitudes: The River of Granike is a witnesse how inuincible the power of the Macedones is agaynst any multitude. And so is Silicia that flowed with the Persians blood, and Arbella, whose plaines be strawed with their bones. It is ouerlate to count the number of your enemies, after that with your victorie you haue made Asia desert. When ye passed ouer Hellespont, you should then haue considered your small number. Now the Scythians doe follow vs, we haue aide at hand from the Bactrians, and we supply our power with the Sogdians. Yet for all that, it is not in them, in whom I put my confidence. I haue a regard vnto your force: I reserve your manhood about me, as a pledge and assurance of my actes and doinges. So long as I may stand in the field amongst you, I will neither waigh my selfe, nor mine enemies. Do you but shew an apparance, that there is hope in you and cheerefulness, we are not newly entred into our trauails, but haue passed all our labours, being come to the rising of the sunne, & to the Ocean sea, except our owne slouth be our impediment. From thence hauing subdued the world, we shall returne as victors into your countrey. Doe not you as these negligent husbandmen, that lose their fruit after it is once ripe. The rewardes of our iourney be greater then our perill. The countrey that we goe vnto, is riche and of no force, thither I purpose to bring you, both to winne glory, and to get you spoyle. For worthy you are to cary such riches into your countrey, which be so plentifull there, that the sea doth cast them by agaynst the shore.

You be men of that vertue, that ye ought to leaue nothyng vnproued, nor nothyng vndone for feare: I desire and pray you by the glory ye haue gottē, in which ye exceede the state of men, and by all that I haue deserved of you, and you of me, wherewith ye remaine as inuincible, that ye will not forsake mee, purposing to visite the ende of the worlde, mee I say that haue bene

haue brought by as a child amongst you. I will make no mention how I am your king: In the rest of things I haue commaunded you: let mee nowe intreate you in this one point. It is I that make this requeste vnto you, which neuer commanded you any thing, but I put my selfe forwoll in the aduerture, and daunger, and which oftentimes in mine owne person haue bene the forwoll in defence of the battaile: take not the victorie out of my hands, with the which (if enuy bee not the let) I shall become equall in glorie both to Hercules, and Bacchus. Give your assent to mine intercession, and at length breake your obstinate silence. Where is your shewing become that was wont to bee a declaration of your cheerefulness: Where be the countenances of my countrey men: I know not my souldiers, & it seemeth that I am not knowne of you. He thinks I crie to your deafe eares in vaine, and goe about in waste to stirre by your vnwilling and vnmouable mindes.

Notwithstanding all these words, they hong downe their heades towards the earth, & persevered still in silence. Then he proceeded.

I know not (quoth he) wherin I haue unwitting offended you, that you will not once vouchsafe to looke mee in the face. I seeme to be solitarie and in a desert. Is there none of you that I speake vnto will answer mee: Is there none at the least will denie my request: What is the thing that I requyre: euen your own glorie, and your owne encrease. Where be they nowe that I sawe not long ago contending who shoulde take by their king, when hee was wounded: And nowe you leaue me alone, ye forsake mee, ye betray me to myne enemies. But I will not leaue mine enterprize though I go alone. Put me forwarde to those ryuers, to those beastes, and to those nations, the very names of whom ye feare so much. The Scythians and Bactrians shall go with mee, which of late were mine enemies, & nowe be my souldiers. I had rather die, then be a king to be ruled, and at other mennes appointment. Depart you home, go I say, and triumph of the abandoning of your king. For I will either obtaine here the victorie, wher
of

of you have dispeyzed, or els die a death that shall be honourable.

Notwithstanding all that he had saide, there was not one souldier that would open his mouth to speake, but stood wayting that some of the Princes and great Capitaines shoulde declare vnto the king they states, and howe that there remained not in them any obstinate refusall of the warres, but that they were exhausted wyth wounds, and wearied with continuall trauaile that they were not able to endure any longer. As they stood thus astonyed and afrayde in silence, and looking vpon the ground, there began first a whispering and rumour amongst them, and afterwarde a lamentation: and by litle & litle they beganne more earnestly to shew their dolour, the teares falling from their eyes. The kinges anger was then so turned into compassion, that he was not able neyther to keepe himselfe from teares, but the whole assembly burst out into an excessive weeping. And when the rest were at a stay to speake, Cenon tooke vpon him to presse forwardes towardes the Iudgement seate, where Alexander stood, signifying that he had somewhat to say. When the souldiers sawe him pull his helmet from his heade, (for so it was the custome to speake vnto y king) they began to requyre him that he would vtter the cause of the whole army. Then Cenon began on this wise.

The Goddes defend our mindes from all wycked thoughts

thoughtes, as I doubt not but they will: there are none of your souldiers, but of the same mynd towards you, that they haue bene in times past, whether it be your pleasure to commaund them to fight, and to hazard themselves, or with their blood commend they name vnto the posteritie. And if you will needs perseuer and go forwardes in your determination, though we be vnarmed, naked, and without blood, we will epyther come after you, or go before, as you shall thinke expedient: But if you will be contente to heare your souldiers griefes, and complayntes that be not fayned, but expressed by force of verie necessitie, I humbly beseech you then, that you will boughsaie fauourably to heare them, that constantly haue followed your authoritie and fortune, and are yet readie to followe wheresoeuer you will appoint. Alexander, with the greatness of your actes yee haue not overcome onely your enemies, but also vs your owne souldiers. Whatsoever mannes mortallitie is able to fulfill, that is persecuted by vs, hauing passed ouer so many Seas, and Countreyes, better knowne to vs then to the very inhabitours thereof, now remayning in maner in the bittermost ende of the worlde. And yet for all this your purpose is to passe into an other worlde, and sake out an India vnkowne to the Indians. Yee couette to plucke out the wilde beastes, and serpents out of their denes and lurking places, mynding to search further with your victorie, then the Sunne hath visited with his beames, which truely is an imagination meete for the greatness of your heart, but farre exceeding our capacitie & power. Your manhood and courage is alwaies in encrease, but our force groweth in declination. We hold our bodies destitute of blood, pierced with so many wounds, & rotted with so many sharres. Our weapons now be dulled, and our armour is wasted, & consumed: Wee weare our apparail after the Persians manner, because our countrey garmentes doe fayle vs, we are degenerate out of our owne fashion, & growne into a strange habite. What is hee that hath his corselet, or horse particular to himselfe? Cause it to be enquired howe many remaine amongst vs, and what remaine

remaineth to every man of the spoile. Being the bica
toys of all men, of all men we are the poorest. It is not
abundance nor excellence that troubleth vs, but the verie
warre it selfe: Our munition is consumed, and yet you
meane to put forth this goodly armye of yours naked
vnto those beastes: The multitude of whom though
the Indians purposely do increase, yet of their bayne
report we may perceiue the number to be great. But
if yee bee vtterly determined to passe yet further into
India, the countrey that lyeth Southward is not so
desert as the other, which being subdued, ye may passe
to that Sea, which nature hath appoynted to abound
in the world. Why doe you seeke that glorie a farre off,
which remaineth to you ready at your hande: Here the
Ocean Sea doth meete vs: and except your mind be
to wander, we are come to the place predestinate vnto
vs. I had rather speake these thinges before you, then
behind your backe: for I seeke not to winne fauour of
the men of war that stand here about me, but desire you
should rather heare their minds expressed in plain wor-
des, then to heare their grieve and their grudge vttered
in muttering and in murmur.

When Cenon had made an end of his tale,
there rose a crie and lamentation, which wyth
confused voices euerie where called Alexander
theyr father, and theyr Lorde. Then the other
Capitaines (and specially the elders, which by
reason of their age had the more honest excuse,
and greater authoritie) made the like request, so
that the king was not able to chastise them be-
ing in that obstinacie, nor mitigate them being
so moued. Therefore vncertaine what to do, he
leapt from the iudgement place, & commanding
his lodging to be shut in, admitted no man but
such as were accustomed about his person.

Two daies he consumed in his anger, and the
thyrde

thyrde day he came forth amongst his men, cau-
sing 12. Altars of square stone there to bee sette
vp, as a monument of his iourney, & wylled the
trenches of his campe to be made wyder, & the
places where the souldiers laye to bee enlarged
greater, then serued for the bignes of their bo-
dies: thinking by the forme and shape of things
thus increased, to leaue a deceitfull wonder
vnto his posteritie. From thence he returned a-
gaine by the way he had passed before, & encam-
ped vpon the ryuer of Acesines: Cenon chanced
there to die, whose death the king lamented: but
yet he said that for so few daies he had made o-
uer long an Oracion: as though he alone should
haue returned into Macedon. By that time the
flauy of shippes which he had appointed to bee
made, stode in readines allote: and Memnon in
the meane season brought him out of Thrace a
supply of six thousand horsemen, and besides fro
Harpalus seuen thousand footemen, with twen-
tie fye thousande armours that were wrought
with siluer and golde, which hee distributed a-
mongst his men, and commaunded the olde to
be burned, purposing to passe vnto the Ocean
sea with a thousand shippes. But before his de-
parture, hee reconciled together by affinitie
Porus, and Taxiles, betwixt whom there was
a newe discorde risen vpon theyr olde hatreds.
Hee had obtained of them great aide in the ma-
king and furnishing of his flauie. During the
time hee was about that businesse, hee buid
there

there two Cities: wherof he called the one P^rea, and the other Bucephalon, dedicating the latter by the name of his horse that was deade. He gaue order that his Elephants and carriage should passe by land, and he sayled downe the river, proceeding euerie day about xl. furlonges, so that he might euer lande his power in such places as he thought conuenient. At length he came into a countrey whereas the River of Hydaspis and Acesines do ioine together, and do run from thence into the boundes of a nation called So^bbions. They declared y^e their predecessors came of Hercules array, which being left there sicke, inhabited the countrey. They were clothed in beastes skinner, vsing clubs for they^r weapons: and though they had leste the customes of the Greeks, yet there appeared many things among them, that declared from whence they were descended. Here the king landed and marched two hundred and ten furlongs within the countrey, which hee wasted: and toke the chiefest Citie in the same. There were fortie thousand men that stood in defence against him vpon a Rivers side, but he passed the water, putting them vnto flight, and after they fled into the Citie, he won it by force. The children were slaine, and the rest solde as slaues. He assaulted another Citie, where hee was repulsd with the great force of the defendants, and lost many of his men. But when the inhabitantes sawe that he continued still the siege, dispeyning of their sauegard, they

set

set fire on their houses, and burned themselves, they^r Wiues and their chyldren. Which fire when the Macedons quenched, and they kindled the same agayne, it seemed a straunge contention, the Citizens to destroy they^r owne Citie, they^r enemies labouring to saue it: y^e wars so contrariouly chaunged the lawes wrought in man by nature. The Castle was saued, wher in a guarrison was left. Alexander went about this Castle by water, which was enuyzoned wth three of the greatest Rivers in all India, Ganges except, Indus passing vpon the North side, & Acesines running into Hydaspis vpon y^e south. Where these Rivers met, the waue rose lyke surges of the Sea, being full of mudde and filth, which by the course of the water were dryuen vnto the sides: for al that the Rivers are broad yet the chanel is but narrow, wherin y^e shippes must passe. The waues did rise so high and thicke, breaking sometime vpon the pappes of the shippes, and somety me vpon the one side, that the shippemen began to baile they^r sayles. But they were so troubled with feare, and the byolent swiftnes of the streame, that they could not order their tackling, so that two of the greatest shippes were drownded within sight: And the smaller vessels which were as vnable to bee gouerned, were dryuen vpon the shore wth out any harme. The king chaunced vpon the place whereas the waues went highest, where wth his ship was so tossed and trauersed, that

the

the helme could not direct his course. Wherefore the king doubting of drowning, pulled of his garment ready to cast himselfe into the water, and his frendes did swim neere thereabout ready to receiue him, it appering to him doubtfull, which perill was greatest, either to swim, or to continue still aboard. But the Mariners laboured wonderfully with their oares, adding al the force y lay in mans power thzough the waues, by whose importunate trauaile, the water seemed to deuide asunder, and to giue place: so that at length they haled out of the surges, and yet not able to bring the shippe to the shore, dashed vpon the next flat, it appering that y ships and the streame had fought a battaile together. Alexander hauing escaped this perill, set vp to euerie Riuer an altar, whereupon he offred due sacrifice, and that doone, past forwarde xxx. furlongs. From thence he came into the countrey of the Sudricans and Mallians, which accustomed to be at warre amongst themselves: then for their owne defence ioined in societie. They assembled in armes to the number of ix. M. footmen, x. M. horsemen, and ix. C. armed waggons, wherof when the Macedons were aduertised, which beleued that they had passed all perilles, seeing a fresh warre arise, with a new fierce nation, were amazed with a sodeine feare, and began againe w seditious words to reproue their king. They alledged that he would lately haue come

compelled them to passe the Riuer of Ganges, for to make warre vpon those nations lying beyond y same: which enterprise though it were lesse, they had not for all that ended the warre neuer the more, but rather made an exchaunge of a newe labour, being put forth amongst these wilde nations, to make the Ocean sea open to him with their bloud, and to be drawne beyond the sunne and the starres. They were compelled (they saide) to visite those places, which nature coueted to remoue from mans knowledge. They grudged that to their new armour, there were newe enemies rayled vp, whome if they shoulde vanquish and put to flight, they could not see what benefite they should receiue thereby, but onely darknes and obscuritie of the ayre, which alwaies couered the deepe sea, replenished with multitude of monsters, wallowing in those immouable waters, wheras nature decaying, she failed of her force. The king litle moued in his owne respect, was greatly troubled wyth those passions of his souldiers. Wherefore he assembled them altogether, declaring of how feeble a force those nations were, whome they feared so much which onely remained, & were impediment vnto them (hauing passed ouer so many countreys) to attaine both to the full of theyr trauaile, and to the ende of the world. He shewed how that in respect of theyr former feare, hee had left his enterprise ouer Ganges, with y conquest of the nations inhabiting beyond y same,

and had directed his iourney this way, whereas their glorie should be as great, and theyr peryll much lesse, and wherein they had not farre to trauaile, seeing the Ocean was in maner wyth in sight: the ayre wherof he felt blowing in hys face. He requyred them therfore that they would not enuy the glorie he had sought by passing the boundes of Hercules, and Bacchus, seeing that with so little paine they might giue vnto theyr king perpetuall fame & immortalitie. In doing wherof they should depart out of India as victours, whereas otherwise they should seem to flee away from thence. It is the propertie of euerie multitude, and specially of men of warre, to be drawne with euerie litle motion: amongst whom, as sedition doth soone arise, so it is soone pacified. There was neuer a more chearefull crye made of any army before, then the souldiers then made vnto Alexander, which willed hym to leade them whither soeuer hee would, and make himselfe equall in glorie to them, whose actes he did counterfeite. Alexander reioycing in the willingnes that appeared in them, removed straightwaies towarde his enemies, that were the stoutest people of the Indians. They prepared themselves stoutly for the warres, and chose for their Capitaine one of the Oridracans that was of an approued manhood: Who encamping at the foot of a mountaine, made fyres all abroade, to cause his number to appeere the greater, and went about in vaine to feare the

Maccdons when they were in rest, by making of Alarms, with their cries & maner of howling. When the day appeared, Alexander hauing an assured trust to win the victorie, commaunded the souldiers to put on their armour, and cheerfully to fall in order of battaile. But the Indians, (whether it were for feare, or by reason of some sedition risen amongst them) suddenly fled into the desert mountaines, whom Alexander followed in vaine, and not able to ouertake them, took thei cartage. After this he came to a Citie of the Oridracans, whereunto a great number were fled, as well in trust of the strength of the place, as of their owne power. As Alexander was about to make the approach, Demopho his diuiner admonished him, that he should eather defer the matter, or els not meddle with it at all: for that there appeared signs that his life should be in perill. When Alexander had heard his wordes, he beheld hym and said.

If any man should interrupt thee when thou art busie about thy science, or considering of the intrails: should not he seeme vnto thee treablon and his comming vngateful? Yes truly (quoth he.) So art y now vnto me (quoth Alexander.) For hauing matters in hande of more moment then y entrails of beasts: I find no greater impediment then a superstitious diuiner. And as soone as he had spokē y word, he caused them to reare vp ladders, & whilst others sticke & staied at the matter, he mounted by the wall.

I l.y.

I l.y.

The same was very narrowe in the toppe, not with loopes (as is commonly vsed) but enclosed with one whole & continuall battlement rounde about, which caused it to bee the more harde to scale. Alexander therfore hauing no conuenient roome to stande at his defence, stayed vpon the wall, receyuing vpon his target the darts that were cast at him from all partes. His souldiers coulde not get vnto him: they were so beaten from the walles by the multitude of shotte that came from aboue. Yet at length when by theyr staying they sawe theyr king giuen vp into the enemies handes, shame ouercame theyr imminent daunger. But theyr ouer much haste was too great a lette, and the cause why they coulde not come to the rescue of theyr kyng. For whilst euery man coueted to get vp by ladders, they were so sore laden, that they brake asunder, and such as were mounted vpon them fell downe againe, deceiuing Alexander of his onely hope: so that in the sight of all the army, hee stode destitute as in a deserte, without anye ayde or succour, and had wearyed his left arme (with the which he helde his Target) in receyuing the blowes. His frendes cryed vnto him y he should leape downe vnto them, who stode in a readiness to receyue him. But hee giuing no eare vnto them, vndertooke an incredible enterpryse, and such a one as hath not been heard of before, deseruing rather fame of rashnesse, then of any commendation that might sound to his glorie.

For

For with a full leape he did cast himselfe into y Citie hat was full of his enemies, whereas he could scarcely haue any hope to fight for his life, or in dying to bee reuenged vpon his enemyes. For before he could recouer his fete agayne, it was likely eyther he should haue bene slaine, or taken alyue. But hee by chaunce so conuied his bodie, that he fell vpon his fete, and standing, encountred with such as came against him: Fortune so prouiding, that hee could not be enclosed about, by reason of an old tree, which (as it had bene of purpose) stode nere vnto the wall, whose broad boughes full of leaues couered him from aboue, and the greatnesse of the stocke kept his enemies from coming on his backe, and vpon the forefront he receyued the dartes that were cast against him with his target. For though there were neuer so many that contended with him from a far off, yet durst no man there come nere vnto him: & the boughes kept off the arrowes and the darts so well as his target did. In this extremitie the greatnes of Alexanders fame, chiefly fought for him, & nexte desperation: a great encouragement for a man to die honestly. At length throught the multitude of his enemies that continually flocked about him, both his target was laden with shotte, his helmet was broken with stones, and his legges faynted and fayled vnder him, by continual trauayle: Which thing when his enemies perceyued, they tooke lesse regarde to them-selues,

F. sig.

and

and drew more nere him, of whom he receiued two with his sworde, in such sort, that they fell downe dead at his fete. And from that time forthwardes none was so bolde to approach againe so nere him, but thre dartes, and shotte arrowes at him a farre off. He lay open to euerie mans blow: and yet (though it were with great pain) desired himselfe vpon his knees, vntill such time as an Indian shot an arrowe at hym that was two cubits long, which a litle aboue his right thigh passed through his corselet: By reason of that wound he shed so much bloud, that he let his sword fall, as one at the point of death. And therewith became so faint, that he had not strength to plucke out the arrowe. When the Indian which had hurt him, came with great joy to spoile his bodie. But when Alexander felt his enemies hand vpon him: moued (as it is to be thought) with despite, to receiue an assistance to that extremitie, called again his spirits that were passing away, and with his sworde thrust his enemy (being vnarmed) through the bodie. When hee had thus slaine two of his enemies which lay deade before him, all the rest fled amazed a far off. When Alexander, desiring before his last breath shoulde faile to bee killed fighting, began to raise his bodie vpon his target: But his strength would not serue him therunto, and therefore reached at a bough that hung ouer his head, coupling thereby to haue raised vp himselfe.

But

But his power not suffising thereunto, hee fell downe againe vpon his knees, and by a signe made with his hande, challenged his enemies, if any of them durst come and match with him. At the last Peucestes repulsiug his enemies vpon another part of the Citie, got into y^e towne, and coasting along the walles, came vnto the place where the king was. When Alexander espied him, though he had no hope to liue, yet he tooke his comming for a comfort to his death, & for all his feeblenes began to reare vp himselfe. Then came Timenus, and within a while Leonatus, and after them Aristonius. When it was once published amongst the Indians, that Alexander was entred within the walles, they lefte their defence in other places, and came flocking thither, whereas they fiercely assailed such as stode at defence of the kings person. Timenus, after that he had fought notably, and receyued many woundes, was there slaine. Peucestes also, notwithstanding that hee was stricken and wounded with their dartes, yet with his target he defended y^e kings person, without any regard of himselfe. And Leonatus, whilst he resisted the Indians, that egerly pressed vpon Alexander, receiued so sore a stripe vpon the necke, that he fell downe in a towne at the kings fete. By y^e time Peucestes became so feeble of his woundes that he was not able to defend him any more. The last hope and refuge remayned in Aristonius, who also was so grievously wounded,

If s.j.

that

that he could endure any longer the force of the Indians. In the meane season the same was spread amongst the Macedons, that their king was slaine: which being a matter that shoulde haue put others in feare, stirred vp their hartes, and made them the hardier. For from that time forwards, ther was none that had respect of his owne perill, but aduentured to the wall, & breacking downe the same with pickaxes, entered at the breach, making slaughter of their enemies, of whom few stode at defence, but fledde away. There was neyther man nor woman spared, olde nor young. For they met none, but they iudged him to be the person that had slayn their king, and so at length with the murder of y multitude their iust yre was satisfied. Clitarchus and Timagines doe write, that Ptholomeus, which afterwarde became king of Egypt, was present in this encounter. But hee himselfe, that vsed not to denie any thing that stood with his owne glorie, did put in memorie howe that he was then absent, sent about another enterprise. Such a negligēce was in them y did write the antiquities of thinges, or els an ouer much credulitie, which is a fault no lesse then the other. When Alexander was brought into his lodging, the Surgeons cutte of the scale of the shafte in such wise, that they moued not the head that was within the flesh. And when they sawe the wound bare, they perceiued hookes to bee within the arrowe heade, so that without the

the destruction of his body, it could not be pulled out, except by incision they made the wound greater: And yet in that point they feared least aboundance of bloud shoulde be impediment vnto them. For the head was very great, and it seemed to be entred farre within his body. There was one Critobulus that was very cunning & most excellent amongst the Physicians & Surgeons, and yet in so dangerous matter as this, he was fearefull and in doubt to set too bys handes, least if any thing shoulde chaunce to the king otherwise then well, whilest he remayned in this cure, y blame might light vpon his heade. Therefore when Alexander perceyued by his weeping the feare he was in, and that through trouble of mynde, he looked pale in the face, said vnto him.

What is it that thou lookest for, or why dost thou stay in riddng of mee quickly out of this payne, at the lest wayes by death, if thou canst not otherwise byng it to passe? For seeing my wound is vncurable, why dost thou feare that any thing shoulde be layd vnto thy charge?

When Critobulus heard his wordes, he either ceased or dissimuled his feare, and exhorted Alexander that he would suffer himselfe to be holden whilest they pulled out the arrowe head that was within his flesh, for the least motion (he said) might be hurtfull vnto him. The king would not be holden, but held his body at a stay without mouing, in such sort as they appoynted him. When they had cut the wound wider, and

and pulled out the head, there issued such abundance of blood, that the king fell in a swoone, & a dunne came ouer his sight, he stretched out himselfe, as one in the pangs of death. Whē they brought all the means they could, to stanch the blood, but when they perceiued it would not auaile, his friends began to cry out and lament, thinking verily that there had been no way but death. Notwithstanding at length he ceased his bleeding, and recouering agayne his spirits, began to know them that stood about him. All that day and the night ensuing, the men of war stood in armes about the kings lodging, confessing that al their liues depended vpon his breath, and would not remoue from thence, before they vnderstood that he tooke some rest. But when they knew that he was fallen on sleepe, they returned into the campe, bringing vnto the rest more certaine hope of his recovery. Alexander about the curing of his wound, remained there 7. dayes, and vnderstanding that a constant fame of his death was spred abroad amongst the Indians, he caused two shippes to bee fastened together, and a lodging to be made for hym in the midst: so that remayning vpon the water, he might be seene from both sides of the land of them that thought he had bene dead. Whē the countrey men by the view of him perceiued he was on liue, they tooke away the hope that some had conceiued vpon the false report. From thence he passed downe the streame, leauing a distance

distance betwene his ship, and the rest of the nauy, to the intent that with the beating of the oares, they should not disturbe him of hys rest which was necessary for his weake body. The fourth day after his embarking, he came into a countrey abandoned of the inhabiteurs, but yet plentiful both of corne and cattel, in which place he thought expedient both to rest himselfe, and his souldiours. It was a custome amongst the Macedons, that when their king was diseased, the chiefe Princes and the great men watched about his lodging: Which maner being then obserued, they entered all together into the chamber where Alexander laye: at whose sodaine commyng hee was somewhat amazed, specially because they came all together. He thought they had brought hym some straunge tidings, and enquired of them if they vnderstood of any new assembly of his enemies. When Craterus which was appointed to speake in the behalf of them all, said to him after this maner.

Do you thinke that the comming of any enemies could make vs so carefull (though they were entered within your campe) as we be of your health and safeguard, for of all that it is a thing which you regard lest? Though all nations doe conspire agaynst vs with their power, though the whole vniuersal world were filled full of men of warre, the Seas ouerspred wyth Shippes, and neuer so many strange beastes brought agaynst vs, it consisteth in the moment of your person to make vs victors. What howe can any God promise, that you, which is the light and shynyng Starre of Macedonia, can bee of any continuance? Saying that you bee so desirous to put your persone

In such manifest perils, not remēbyng that with your death you drawe with you into ruine, the liues of so many of your countrymen? What is he that either can or doeth desire to liue after you? We are come so farre forth following your fortune and authoritie, that with out you, none of vs is able to retorne home agayne. If ye were yet contending with Darius for the kingdom of Persia, though we all would wish that you would not aduenture your person so perilously, yet in that case we could not meruaile so much at your prompt audacitie: for where the danger and the benefite that ensueth thereof is equall, there the fruite is the greater, when the matter succedeth well, and the comfort is the more, when the thing chanceth euill. There is no man, not onely of vs that be your souldiours, but euen of such as were your enemies, hauing any vnderstanding of your greatnesse, that can suffer so base a towne, and of so litle fame, bee bought with the price of your lyfe. My heart shrinkes at the remembraunce of the thing, which we but late did see with our eyes. I am amazed to rehearse, how those vile handes were in a readinesse to haue caried the spoiles of your inuincible person, if fortune of her mercy had not preserved and deliuered you from their crueltie. So many of vs as were not able to follow you, were all traitors and forsakers of our Prince. And though it were a matter that lay not in our power, yet if it please you to note vs all with reproche, yet there is none that will refuse any punishment in the purgation of the matter. Notwithstanding we would require you that you would spare vs for some other purpose. We will gladly goe whither so euer ye will haue vs: we require warre be it neuer so obscure, and couet the battell though our fighting shall want fame, so that you wil reserue your selfe to those hazardes which be moete for the greatnes of your estate. How soone doth glory vanish away and become of no prayse amongst such enemies as be of no reputation: And what thyng is there more vnworthy, then to consume the glory that ye haue gotten elsewhere amongst them, where as your glory can not appeare?

When

When Craterus had told his tale, Ptholome and the other spake to him in like effect, and required him all at once with weeping eyes, that he would not from thenceforth bee any more so thirstie to winne prayse, but seeing hee had got sufficient already, he should content himselfe therewithall, and regard his health & safeguard, whercupon their vniuersall estate did depend. The king tooke so gratefully their louyng affection, that he familiarly embraced euery one of them, and after he had willed them to sit, repeating more deeply their former communication, he said thus vnto them.

My faithfull louing friends and countrey men, I giue and render to you my hartie thanks, not onely for that ye preferre my sauegard before your owne, but also for that since the beginning of the warres, ye haue not pretermitted any thing wherein your loue and beneuolence might be shewed towards me: so that I must confesse that my life was neuer so deare as it is now, because I desire long to enioy you. You be desirous to offer your selues to death in my quarel, because you iudge that I haue deserued that beneuolence at your handes. But your imagination and myne, is not after one sort. You peraduenture doe couet continually to enioy me, and to take of me continuall fruit. And I measure not my selfe by the continuance of my time, but by the greatnesse of my glory. I might haue bene content with the riches my father left me, and with rest of my body haue looked for with the boundes of Macedon, an age obscure and without any fame. And yet I cannot see that they which liue in sloth & idleness, can assure themselves of their owne destinie. For euen such as esteeme felicitie in long life, be oftentimes preuented with sodaine death. But I which number not my peeres, but my victories, haue liued long if I will waigh the giftes of fortune. For beginning mine
Empire

Empire Macedonia, I haue Greece in myne owne handes, I haue subdued Thrace and the Illyrians: I reigned ouer the Trybals and the Medians, possessing all Asia that lieth betwixt Hellespont and the red sea, and now am not farre from the ende of the world, the which I determined to visite, and to make open to me a new nature, and a new world. I passed out of Asia into Europe in the moment of an houre, and being but xxviii. yeres olde, and hauing reigned but nine, am become victor of both regions. Doe you thinke it meete that I should now cease from winnyng of that glory, whereunto I haue onely addict my selfe? No, I will neuer cease: but wheresoeuer I shall haue occasion to fight, I shal thinke my self to be in the Theater, where the whole world doth behold mee. I will giue nobilitie and fame to places that be obscure. And will lay open to all nations those countreys that nature hath remooued furthest from them: In doyng whereof it shall be gratefull for me to ende my lyfe, if Fortune will haue it so. I am come of such a stocke, that I ought to desire many thinges befoze long lyfe. I pray you to remember that we came into those countries where the name of a woman is much celebrated for her vertues. What cities did Semiramis builde? What nations did she subdue? and what great workes did she accomplish? We are not yet become equall to a woman in glory, and yet you would haue mee to be satisfied of land. The Gods be fauourable vnto our purpose: for there remaine for vs yet greater thinges to doe. And it is the next way to make those countreys which we haue not yet touched, to become ours, if we esteeme nothing to be of small valure, where as there is any occasion to winne glory. Let it be your care onely to preserve me from ciuil conspiracie and treason of myne owne people, and then there be no aduentures in the warre shall put me in feare. Phillip was more sure in the front of the battell abroad, then when he was in quiete at home. He ostentyned auoyded the force of his enemies: but he could not eschew the violence of his owne subiectes. And if you consider the ende of other kinges you shall count moze that haue bene slaine

by their owne men, then by any foereine power. But because there is an occasion now offered mee to utter the thing I haue long conceiued in my mynd: it shall be the greatest fraite I can receiue of my actes and my trauels, if my mother Olimpias, when she departeth this life, might be consecrated to immortallitie. If she depart in my tyme, I will do the thing my selfe. But if I shall be preuented by death, remember you to performe that I haue determined.

And thereupon he dismissed his friends from him, and continued many dayes in the same place. Whiles these thinges were a doyng in India, the Greeke souldiours that had land and habitation appointed them at Catabactra, thow a sedition that chaunced amongst them, rebelled against him: Not so much for any hatred they bare him, as for feare of punishment. For they killed diuers of their chiefe Rulers, and assembling in force together, took the castle of Bactria that was negligently kept, and procured the Bactrians to rebell with them. Athenodorus was the chiefest amongst them, who took vpon hym the name of a kyng, not so much for the desire he had to the kyngdome, as by authoritie to make hymselfe of power to conuey himselfe and others home into his owne countrey. But one Bicon of his owne nation became his vtter enemy, and conspiryng against him, did bid him to a banquet, where he was slaine by one Borus Bacterianus.

The nexte day followyng, Bicon assembled the Greeces together, perswadyng them that he slew Athenodorus but in his owne defence,

defence, whose purpose was to haue destroyed him. But there were some that perceyued his pollicie, and suspition was spred amongst the rest, so that the Greekes fell to armes of purpose to slay Bicon. But such as were chiefe, mitigated the wrath of the multitude, and contrary to his expectation was deliuered from that present perill. Yet he could not be so contented, but within a while after conspired against the that saued his life, whose falsehood known, they tooke both him and Borus, determining that Borus should be put to death out of hand, and that Bicon should end his life by torments. As they were tormenting of him, the Greeke soldiers sodainly in a fury (for what cause it is vncertaine) ranne to armes, the noise of whom beyng heard with them that had the charge of Bicon, did let him at liberty, fearing that the rumour had bene made for his deliuey. He as he was naked came running amongst y^e Greekes where as they were assembled: Whose miserable estate so sodainly changed their mindes, that they willed him immediatly to be set at liberty. By this meanes Bicon beyng twise deliuered from death, returned into his countrey with the Greekes, leauing the colonie whereunto he was appointed by Alexander. These thinges were done in the confines of Bactria and Scithia. In the meane season the king of the two nations which we spake of before, sent an hundred Embassadors vnto Alexander, which beyng men

of personages, rode in wagons seemely apparatled, hauing garments of linnen cloth embroidered with golde and empaled with purple. They declared that the cause of their comming was to yelde themselves, their Citie, their countrey, and their libertie (which they had kept inuiolately by so manie ages) to his wil and appointment. Of which they^r submission, the Goddes (they saide) were autho^rs, and not any feare: for they were contented to yelde themselves before they had prooued they^r power with him. The king called a counsell, and receiued them vnder his protection, appointing them to pay such tribute as they before payed to the Arachosians. And besides, to sende two thousand five hundred horsemen to serue him in his warres: all which things they performed obediently. This done, he made a great feast, whereunto hee invited Embassadors, and his Lordes. He vsed therein great preparation, ordeining a hundred beds of golde to eat vpon: which being set a small distance one from another, were drawne about with curtaines garnished with golde and purple. In that feast ther was shewed and set forth all the excesse and voluptuousnes, which eyther by long custome was vsed among the Persians, or by corruption of they^r olde vsages taken vp amongst the Macedons: the vices of both those nations being there mingled & mixed together. There was at that feast one Diotippus of Athens, a notable champion, by reason of hys excellent

cellent force well knowne vnto the king, whom certein enuious and malicious persons, betwixt earnest and pastime did reprocue, that he was giuen to fat his bodie as an vnprofitable beast: And when that other went to the battaile, hee would annoynt his bodie with oyle, and prepare himselfe to eate. Amongst other that vsed wordes of despyte against him, there was at y same feast one Hioratas a Macedon, who in his dyonkenesse challenged Diorippus, that if he were a man, hee shoulde fyght the campe with hym the next day vppon life and death, whereas the king shoulde iudge eyther him to be rash, or the other too much a dastard. Diorippus then laughing to skorne the pryde and arrogancie of this souldier, accepted his proffer. The nexte day they were more earnest to go to the Combatte, then they were before in making of the challenge: therefore when the king saue them so bent, and that they would not leaue theyr purpose, hee consented to their will. There were great numbers of men assembled at the combat amongst whome there were many Grecians, which fauoured Diorippus part. The Macedon came into the listes armed at all peeces, holding in his left hande an Iron buckler and a speare, and in his right hande a casting launce, and hauing his sword besides girte to his side, was furnished as though he shoulde haue fought with many men at once. Diorippus came forth annoynted with oyle, wyth a garlande vppon

his heade, and hauing a redde cloth wyapte about his left arme, held in his right hand a knot tie cudgell. The diuersitie of theyr furnisshmentes brought euerie man into a wonderfull expectation.

For they could not thinke it onely a rashnes, but a madness, for Diorippus that was naked, to match with the other that was armed. The Macedon thinking to kill his aduersary before they should come to hand stripes, threw at hym his launce, which Diorippus auoided with bending of his body, and before that he could charge his pyke he leaped to him, and with his cudgell brake the same asunder. When the Macedon had lost both his weapons, he began to drawe his sword: but Diorippus prevented him with a close, and taking both his feete from vnder him threw him to the earth, and there plucking hys sword from him, set his fote vpon his necke, & held vp his cudgell to haue striked out his brains if the king had not caused him to stay his hande. This triumph ended with displeasure both vnto the Macedons, and vnto Alexander himselfe: specially because this thing was done in the Indians presence: fearing least the valiauntnesse of the Macedons, famed so much in the world, might thereby come into contempt. Hereupon Alexander grudging at Diorippus, bare his eares open to the accusation of the enuious. They within a few daies after had caused a golden cup to be purposely conueied out of y way: S g. ij. which

which the ministers hauing imbeseled, made complaint vnto Alexander of the losse thereof. Oft times men shew lesse constancie in countenance, then in the offence it selfe. For in theyr complaint Diorippus perceiued by their lookes, that they noted him as thiefe, which he coulde not endure, but parting out of the feast (after he had writtten a letter to the king) hee killed hymselfe. Alexander was very sorie for his death: which he tooke for no token of repentaunce, but rather of indignation. For afterwarde it appeared by the ouer much reioicing of his enemyes, that he had bene falsly accused. The Embassadors of the Indians that were dismissed home, within a few daies after returned againe, presenting vnto Alexander three hundred horses, a thousand and thyrtye wagons, euerie one drawn with foure horses, certeine vestures of linnen cloth, a thousand Indian targets, and one hundred calentes of white yron, both Lyons of rare bignes, and Tigers that were made tame, the skinnies of great Hyzards, and the shelles of certeine fishes. The king then commaunded Craterus to conuolue his armye along the Ryuer: whereupon he sayled, and embarking such as were wont to accompany him, with the stream passed into the boundes of the Mallians, and fro thence came vnto the Sabracans, which was a nation of great power, not ruled by kinges, but by a gouernement of the people. They had gathered together fye thousand footemen, and fye thousand

thousand horsemen, a fye hundred chariots, and fye hundred wagons, and had chosen their Captain, and other approued men of warre. But when they as inhabited next vnto the Ryuer (the banks being full of villages) saw all the Ryuer so far as they could view, ouerspread with shippes, and the armour glistering of so many men of war, they were amazed with the straungenes of the sight, and thought that some army of the Gods, or els Bacchus (whose name was famous amongst those nations) had bene come amongst them. The cry of the men of warre, with the clashing of the oares, and the straunge noise of the Mariners, exhorting one another, fylled full their fearefull eares. They ranne therefore amongst theyr countrey men which had assembled their force, declaring theyr madnes if they would contende with Gods. For they saide the shippes could not be numbred that caryed those inuincible people: with which words they put such feare amongst the men of war of their owne nation, that they sent immediately Embassadors to pacifie themselves. When he had receiued their submission, hee came the fourth day into another countrey, the people whereof durst no more withstande him, then the rest did: and there hee buylded a Citie which he named Alexandria: and fro thence entered into a countrey, the inhabitants whereof be called Medians. Where hee vnderstode by the accusation of the Paromistans, that Desterioles (whome Alexander had appointed Lieutenant

tenaunt amongst them) had ruled in excessive pride and couetousnes, and therefore commaunded him to be put to death. And Driatres lieutenant of the Bactrians being also accused, was not only acquitted, but also had a great rule committed vnto him. When he had subdued the vttermost parts of the Musicans, he put a garrison in their Citie, and went from thence to another nation of the Indians called Prestians, of whom Dricanus was king, which with a great power got himselfe into a strong Citie, which Alexander wan the thirde day after he began his siege. Upon the taking of the towne, Dricanus fledde into the Castle, and sent Embassadors to treat of peace. But before they were come to Alexanders presence, two towers of the Castle fell with a great crash, by the ruine wherof the Macedons gotte into the Castle, where Dricanus, which with a few more stood at defence, was slaine, the Castle being raised, and all that were within sold as slaues. Alexander came into the bounds of Saba, where besides many holdes yielded vnto him, he took the strongest Citie of that countrey by force of a myne. It seemed a monstrous thing vnto the Indians (being ignorant of such policies of war) for armed men to come forth of the ground in the midst of their Citie, whereas there appeared before no signe of any way vnder the earth.

Clytarchus doth write, that there were four score thousand Indians slaine in that countrey, besides

besides many prisoners sold as slaues. The Musicans in the mean time rebelled, for the oppression of whome Phiton was sente thither: who took the Prince of that nation prisoner, and brought him to Alexander, whome he caused to be hanged vpon a crosse as the author of the reuolte, which done, he returned again to the Ryuer whereas he had willed his Army to tary for him. The fourth day after passing downe the streame, he came to a towne at the entrie of the kingdome of Samus: The king whercof had newly yielded himselfe, but the Citizens shutte their gates, and would not be at commaundement: Whose small number Alexander regarded so little, that he sent five hundred Agrians vnto their gates to proffer them the skirmish, to the intent that retyring by litle and litle, they might drawe them out of their strength: thinking that they would follow in the chase, when they should see their enemies flying. The Agrians did as it was appointed them: for when they had once prouoked their enemies, they turned their backs, and the Indians followed them till they came to the ambushment, whereas the king lay. Then the Agrians turned, the fight was renewed againe, so that of three thousand Indians, there were five hundred slaine, and a thousand taken, the rest recovered againe the Citie. But the end of y victorie was not so pleasant, as it appeared in the beginning: for the Indians had so enuened their swords,

G. iij. that

that such as were hurt, died of their woundes. And the Physitions could not deuise the cause of so strange a death: for euen the very light hurts were incurable. The Indians trusted that Alexander through his rashnes might haue come within that daunger, which by chaunce fighting amongst the thickest, escaped unhurt. Ptholomeus was lightly wounded vpon his left shoulder: who being in greater danger, then y greatnes of his wound shewed, caused the king to bee carefull of him. For he was neere of his kin, and as some thought Philip was his father: but it is certeine that his mother was Philips concubine. He was one of them that had the charge of the kinges person, a valiant man of warre, and yet more famous in the faculties of peace. Hee was moderate both in his apparaille and liuing: liberall, easie to be spoken to, and without anie such height of mind, as is wont to be descended of bloud royall: by reason of which qualities, it is vncerteine whether hee was better beloued with the king, or with y rest of men. That was the first occasion he had to proue how the minds of men were affectionate towarde him: for euen in that daunger the Macedons began to diuine of his fortune, wherunto afterwards he ascended. They had no lesse care of Ptholomeus, then of the king himselfe: who vsed him so familiarly, that when he was wearied cyther with traualle or care of minde, would sit for his solace with Ptholomeus: and at that time caused his
bed

bed to be brought into his owne chamber. When Ptholomeus was laid there, he fell sodainely in a profound sleepe, in the which it seemed that a dragon offered to him an herbe out of his mouth for the healing of his wounde, and taking away of his venime. When he awaked, he declared his dreame, and shewed both the colour and fashion of the herbe, affirming that he could know it, if any man could find it out. That same was sought by so many, that at length it was found, and being put vpon the wound, y paine streight waies ceased, and the skarre within short space was closed. When the Indians were disappointed of y hope they had conceived that way, they yelded themselves and their Citie. From thence Alexander went into the nexte countrey called Pathalia, the king whereof called Meris, leste the Citie, and fled into the mountaines: so that Alexander toke the same, and destroied all the countrey, finding both a wonderfull pray of sheepe, of cattel, and of cozne. There he toke Pilots that knew the Riuer, and came vnto an Island which stode in the middest of the streame, where hee was compelled to remaine the longer, because the Pilots being negligently kepte, were escaped away. He sent therefore to seeke out other: but when he could finde none, there entred a vehement desire into his head, to visite without any guide the Ocean sea, and the ende of the worlde, committing his owne life, and the life of so many thousandes, to a Riuer which
none

none of them did knowe. They sayled as men ignorant of all places they came vnto: eyther howe farre the Sea was distant from them, what Nations did inhabite the countreys thereabout, or whether the mouth of the Riuer were nauigable for Galleys or no. In all these things they were ledde by a blinde and doubtfull imagination, hauing no other comfort in their rash enterprise, but onely that they trusted to theyr continuall felicitie. When they had gone forwarde foure hundred furlongs, the shipmaisters tolde the king that they felt the ayre of the sea: wherby they knew that the Ocean was at hand. Therat he reioiced greatly, and exhorted his mariners, that they would in all that they might, make way with their Ores to bring him to the sight of the ende of the world, which he had so long desired.

Nowe (quoth hee) our glorie is perfect, when our manhoode is such that nothing can stay vs: Nowe the world is come into our hands, without any further hazard of warre, or shedding of bloud. Nowe since the bounds that nature hath wrought be so neere at hand, we shal shortly see things vnkowne sauing to the immortal Gods.

Yet notwithstanding hee set certeine vppon lande to take some of the countrey men, by whom he trusted to haue knowne more certaintie of the truth. When they searched out their cottages, at length they found out certeine that were hidden: which beeing demaunded how far the Sea was from them, they made answer that they

they neuer heard it named, but they said that within three dayes sailing they should come vnto a place, wheras a brackish water did corrupt the fresh: By which wordes the mariners vnderstoode that they ment the Sea, of the nature whereof the people were ignorant. Then the Mariners rowed cheerefully: their desire growing euer the greater, as they approached neere vnto the place, which they hoped to be the ende of their trauaile. The third day they came wher the Sea and the Riuer ioyned together, mixing with a small flood their waters that were of a contrary nature.

Then because the tyde was somewhat against them, they haled to wards another Island standing in the midst of the riuer, which beeing an easie place to land at, the Macedons ranne about to seek victuals, in surety (as they thought) beeing ignorant of the chaunce that came vppon them. The thirde houre (according to the ordinary course) the tyde came from the Sea, and with his force did dryue the streame backwardes, which at the first beeing but stayed, was afterwarde so vehemently repulset, that it caused the water to returne backward with greater furie then any swifte streame is wont to runne. The common sort that knewe not the nature of the Ocean, thought the same to be a wonderfull matter, and that it had bene a token sent to them for the Goddes wrath: and whylest they were in that imagination, the
Sea

Sea swelling more and more, ouerflowed the lande which they saue before drie: and as the water rose, the shippes mounted, and all y^e Panie was disperckled here and there. Such as were vpon the lande were amazed with the so- deines of the thing, and ran from all partes in great feare vnto their shippes. But in a tumult hast doth hurt, and giueth impediment. Some there were that went about to set their shippes forwardes: other forbad rowing, and remoued not at all. Other whiles they made hast away, & would not tary to take in theyr companie, moued vnaptly, and could make no way. Some, when they saue them presse a shipboord in such thronges, for feare of taking in too many, would receiue none at all: So that both multitude and small number, was a let vnto y^e hast they made. The crie that some made in bidding men tarie, and the noise that other made willing them to go forwardes, with theyr voices that differed, & agreed not in one effect, took away the vse both of theyr sight and hearing. The mariners could not helpe the matter, whose wordes in the tumult could not be heard, nor theyr commaundementes obserued amongst men in feare and out of order. The shippes therefore dashed one against an other, the Dyes crashed asunder, and euerie ship either thrust forwardes, or put backe another. No man would haue iudged it to be one Panie, but rather two sundry Panies fighting a battaile vpon the Sea. The prizes did

strike

strike against the pappes: such as went before troubled them that came after, and the wordes of men in theyr wrath turned into stripes. By that time the flood had ouerflowne all y^e plains thereabouts, so that nothing appeared aboue the water sauing the hilles, which seemed like lytle Islands, whereunto many did swimme, and left their shippes for feare. Whilest the Panie thus disperckled abroade, partly stode asloft, when they happened in any valley, and partly stycked vpon the ground, if they did hit vpon the flats, according to the ground which was ouerflown: sodeinly there came another terroz bigger then the first. For when the Sea began to ebbe, the water fell backe againe into his wonted course with so great violence, as it came forwardes, & restozed the sight of the land, which before was drowned as in a deepe Sea. The shippes then forsaken of the water, fell vpon theyr sides, and the fildees were strowne with broken boordes, and with peeces of Dyes. The souldiers durst not go forth to lande, and yet were in doubt to tarie on shipboorde, looking euer for some greater mischiese to come, then that they saue present or past. They could scarcely beleue that they saw and suffered, which was shipwracke vpon the land, and the Sea within a Riuer. And they thought no ende would come of this mischiese: for they knewe not that the flood should shortly returne againe, and set their shippes asloft. And therefore they imagined to themselves famyne,

and

and all extremities. The monstres also of the Sea, which after the water was past, were left on drie land, put them in great feare. The night approached, and despayre brought the king into a great agonie. Yet no care could so overcome his hart, that was invincible, but that he watched all night, and sent horsemen to the mouth of the River to bring him worde when the tide came. He caused two shippes that were broken to be amended, and such as were overwhelmed to be hoisted up againe, warnyng all men to lye in wayte, and be in a readinesse against the water should arise.

Whkn hee had consumed all that night in watching, and giuing exhortation to his men, streight-waies the horsemen returned a mayne gallop, & the flood followed them: which mildly encreasing, began to raise againe their ships, and when it had once overflowne the bankes, & whole Army began to moue. Then all the coast rebounded with the vnmeasurable reioicing & the souldiers and mariners made for their safegarde, whereof they were before in dispeyre. When they sawe the daunger past, they enquired with wonder one of another, by what reason the sea could so sone after that maner ebbe and flowe, and debated the nature of that element, which one while disagreed, and another while was obedient and subiect to the time. The king coniecturing by the signes he had scene before, & after the sunne rising the tyde would serue his purpose

purpose to preuente the matter, at midnight with a few shippes he flected down the stream: and passing out at the mouth of the River, entered foure hundred furlongs into the sea, where attaining the thing that he desyred, made sacrifice to the Goddess of the Sea, which were worshipped in those countreys, and returned againe vnto his Army. From thence the next day he returned backwards against the streame, and arrived at a salte lake, the nature whereof being unknowne, deceiued many that rashly entered into the water: for they bodies by and by became full of scabs, which disease taken by some the contagion thereof infected many other. But they found that oile was a remedy for the same. Alexander lying still with his armye, wayting for the spring time of the yere, sent Leonatus afore by the land way where he thought to passe, for to digge welles, because the countrey was very drie, and destitute of water. In the meane season he builded many Cities, and commaunded Pearchus and Onesicritus (that were most experte of nauall thinges) with his strongest shippes to passe into the Ocean, and to go forwardes so farre as they might with suretie, for to vnderstand the nature of the Sea, add willed them at their returne to lande within that River, or els within Euphrates. When the winter was well passed, hee burned those shippes which he occupied not, and conueyed his armie by lande.

After

After nine encampings, he came into the countrey of the Arabitans, and from thence in nyne daies came amongst the Gedrosians: which being a free nation, by generall counsaile had amongst them, yeelded themselues: of whō there was not any thing demaunded, saving onelie victualles. The fifth day he came vnto a Riuer which the countrey men call Barabon beyonde the which there lay a barraine countrey greatly destitute of water, thzough the which he passed, and entred amongst the Horitans. There he betooke the greater part of his army to Ephesi-on, and parted his souldiers that were light armed with Ptholomeus and Leonatus, and so wasted the countrey with thzee armies at once, and tooke great praies. Ptholomeus burned towards the Sea, Leonatus on the other side, and Alexander himselfe in the midst. In that countrey he builded also a Citie, and brought menne out of Arachosia to inhabite it. From thence hee came amongst the Indians, which lying vppon the Sea coast, do inhabite a great countrey that is waste and desert. They vse no traffique, entercourse, nor conuersation with anye of their neighbours: but the desertnes of theyr countrey made them sauage, beeing wilde of theyr owne nature. They were long nayles, which they neuer cut, and long haire, that was neuer clipped. They made theyr houses of the shelles of fishes, and of other thinges that the Sea cast vp: And being clad with the skinner of wyld beasts,

eate

eate fish dried with the sunne, and fedde vppon such monstrous fishes as the Sea cast vpon the lande. Here the Macedons consumed their bycuals, and first endured scarfitie, and after ward extreme hunger, searching out in euerie place the rootes of the Palmes, which is the onely tree that groweth in that countrey. But when that kinde of nourishment failed them, they kylled their cariage beastes, and abstained from theyr horses: whereby lacking beastes to beare theyr baggage, they were enforced to consume wyth fire the spoiles of their enemies, which had caused them to trauaile into the vttermost boundes of the Orient.

After their famine followed a pestilence: for the vnaccustomed nourishment of the vnwholesome meates that that they did eate, with the trauaile of their iourney and the care of minde, spread diseases amongst them, in such sort that they could neyther continue in a place, nor yet go forwardes without great destruction. Hunger oppressed them when they taried: and the Pestilence was more vehement euer as they wente forwardes. The fieldes therefore were strowne full of men that were halfe deade, and halfe aliue. And such as were but smally sicke, were not able to followe the army: it marched with such speede: For euerie man thought to further so much his owne safegarde, as by making haste he could get before his fellows. Such as fainted and could not followe, desired both

D. J.

fish

such as they knew and knew not, to helpe them forwardes. But they had no beastes whereupon to set them : and the souldiers could scarcely heare their owne armour, which had the imminent mischiefe that fell vpon other men, represented before their owne eyes. Wherefore, when they were called vpon, they would not vouchsafe once to looke backe : feare had so taken away all compassion from them. Then they which were left behinde, cryed vpon the Gods and their king for helpe, alleadging that they were all of one religion, which was a bande for one to relieue another. But when they had cryed long in vaine vnto theyr deafe eares, through desperation they raged, wishing the like ende to theyr frendes and companions, that they themselves endured. The king troubled both wyth sorowe and with shame, because hee, and none els should be the cause of so great destruction of his men, did write to Phrataphernes ruler of the Parthenians, to send to him vpon Camels, victualles in readinesse to be eaten, and certified the Princes of the countreys thereabouts of his necessitie, which did not slacke the time, but made prouision according to his will. Thus his army deliuered only from famine, was brought within the bounds of the Gedrosians : And for as much as the same was a countrey fertill of all things, he thought good to stay there a while with rest to recouer againe his feeble souldiers. There hee receyued letters from Leonatus,

how

how he had wonne the victorie of the Bortians, which encountred him with eight thousand foot men, and fve hundred horsemen : and was advertised also from Craterus, how he had taken and put in holde Dines and Zariaspes noble men of Persia, that went about to rebell. Alexander also vnderstanding that Memnon was dead, gaue the charge of the countrey, whereof he had the rule vnto Siburtius, and afterwarbes went into Carmania. Aspastes was gouernour of that Nation : who being suspected of inuocation, whylest Alexander was in India, met him on his way. But hee dissimuling his discontentayned him gently, and did to him his accustomed honour, till such time as he had better prooue of the matter, which was laide agaynst him.

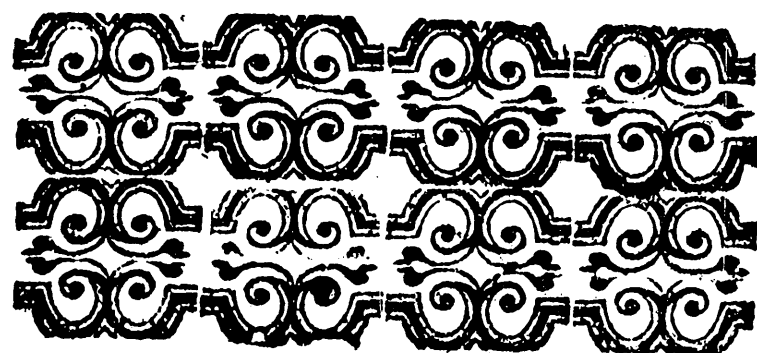
When the Princes of India had, according to his appointment, sent out of all countreys vnder his Empire, great plenty of horse and other beastes, both of cariage and of draught. He gaue cariage againe to all men that wanted, & restored theyr armour to the former beautifulnesse & excellencie. For they were come into a countrey toyning vpon Persia, which both was abundant of all thinges, and also quietly established vnder his subiection. He thought it then a tyme to counterfeite Bacchus in the glorie and fame which he got amongst those nations. Whither it were a triumph that Bacchus first instituted, or a pastime of him bled in drunkennesse.

How

Alex

Alexander was determined to counterfeite hys doings, hauing his mind puffed vp aboue mans estate. He commaunded therefore all the villages throughout the which he should passe, to bee strowne with flowers and garlands, and wyne to be set forth before euerie mans doore, for all men that would drinke. He caused wagons also to be made of largetnes, able to carie great numbers: and decking the same with pretious furnitures, the king went foremost with his friends, and next to them his garde, wearing vpon their heades garlands of flowers, some playing vpon flutes, and some vpon harpes: Euerie one generally through the army decked his chariot according to his abilitie and substance, whereas they being giuen to banquetting, did hang their rich armour besides them. Alexander with such as hee called to his company, was caried in a chariot laden with cups of golde, and other golden vessell: he with his drunken army, marched thus seuen daies together in ostentation of the pray they had gotten: Wherein they shewed such dissolutenes, that if one thousand of the subdued people durst during that time haue giuen them the onset, they might haue take them prisoners, and led them away in triumph. But fortune which hath appointed both fame and estimation to things, turned all this disorder vnto his glorie. For both the age that was then, and the posteritie that came after, maruelled, and took it for a wonder, that he durst go so dissolute.

He amongst those nations, not yet established vnder his Empire, the barbarous people reputing his rashnes for an assured confidence. But shedding of blood ensued after this triumph. For Prince Aspatis (spoken of before) was commaunded to bee put to death: so that hys excesse in voluptuousnes was no let vnto his crueltie, nor crueltie impediment to his voluptuousnes.





THE TENTH BOOKE OF QVIN.
tus Curtius of the Actes of the great
Alexander, King of Ma-
cedon.



About the same time, Cleander, Sitarches, Agathon, and Heracon, which by y^e kings appoint- ment had put Parmenio vnto death, retourned to him bring- ing with them v. s. footemen, & a thousand horsemen. There were many accus- sers y^e followed them out of the Province, wher- of they had the gouernance: Whose behauiour there was such, that the acceptable seruice they had done to Alexander in killing of Parmenio, could bee no satisfaction for the multitude of of- fences they had committed. They vied such an vniuersall spoile, not abstaining from the y^e tem- ples, nor from sacred things. The virgins also & great ladies of the countrey, whom they had ra- uished, complained of them: lamenting y^e shame they had sustained. They vied such couetousnes & inordinate lust in they^e authoritie, that it cau- sed the name of y^e Macedons to bee hated amōg those nations. And yet amongst all the rest, Cle- anders offence was most horrible, which rauy- shing a byrgin of noble bloud, gaue her to his slave to vse as his concubine.

The

The more part of Alexanders frendes were not so much offended with they^e crueltie and foule actes (whereof they were accused) as with the remembraunce of Parmenio his death, which they kept in silence, least the rehearsall thereof might haue procured them fauour with y^e king: reioycing that the kinges wrath was fallen vpon the Ministers of his y^e, and that no power nor authoritie gotten by euill meanes, coulde haue any long continuance. Alexander hearing the cause, sayde that the accuser overslipte the greater offence, which was the dispeyre of hys safegarde. For if they had eyther hoped or be- lieued that hee shoulde euer haue retourned out of India, they durst neuer (hee saide) haue com- mitted any such offences. He commanded them therefore to pryson, and put sixe hundred souldy- ers to death, that had bene ministers of they^e crueltie: and they also were executed the same day, which Craterus had brought as authors of the rebellion out of Persia. Within a while af- ter Nearchus and Onesicritus, which had bene commaunded by the king to search the Ocean Sea, retourned to him, declaring some thinges by knowledge, and some by report. They shew- ed him of an Iland not farre from the mouth of Indus, which abounded with golde, and had no b^{re}ede of horses amongst them: Wherefore the inhabitants would giue a talent of golde for eue- rie horse brought from the main land. They also tolde of great monstrous fishes (whereof those

Seas

Seas were full) which caried downe with the tyde would shew their bodies aboue the water, as big as a great ship, and followe their Maie with a terrible noise. And when they diued vnderneath the water, they troubled the seas, as if it had bene a shipwacke. These were thinges they had sene, the rest they had receiued by report of the inhabitants: as how that the red Sea toke his name of king Crithrus, and not of the colour of the water. They shewed also of an other Iland not far from the maine lande, growing full of plaine trees, where was a great wood and in the middelt thereof stode a pillar, wyth inscription of such letters as he vsed in the cuntry. They added besides, that such mariners as caried the merchants, and the Iudges of the army, through couetousnes of the gold, which had bene reported vnto them, landed in the Ilande, and were neuer sene after. Their wordes moued Alexander much, and put him in a great desire, to get more certein knowledge of those parties: and therfore he commaunded them again to the Sea, willing that they should coast the land, til they came within the Riuer of Euphrates, and from thence to come vp to Babilon against the streame.

The things were infinite that he compassed in his head, for he determined after that he had brought the Sea coast of the Orient vnder his subiection, to go out of Siria into Affricke, for y^e enuy he bare to the Carthagens: Hee purposed
from

from thence to passe ouer the deserts of Sumidia towarde Gades, where he vnderstode by the fame that Hercules had planted his pillars; and so directing his iourney through Spaine, (the which the Graekes of the Riuer Iberus call Iberia) to go ouer the Alpes, and so into Italy, till he should come to the coast where the next passage was into Cyprus. For this intent hee gaue commaundement to his officers in Mesopotamia, that they should cut downe timber in the Mount Libanus, and conuey the same vnto Caplagas a Citie in Siria. And there to make galleys of such greatnes, that euerie one of them might be able to carie seuen Dzes vpon a bank, and from thence he willed them to be conueyed vnto Babilon. He sent commaundement to the kings of Cyprus, to furnish them of Iron, hemp, and sayles. Whylest these thinges were in doing, hee receiued letters from Dorus and Taries, signifying that Abiazares was dead of a disease, and that Philippe his lieutenant in those partes was slaine, and they put to death that were the doers thereof. Alexander in the place of Philip appointed Eudemon that was Capitaine of the Thracians, & gaue Abiazares kyngdome vnto his sonne. From thence he came to Mesargades, a countrey of the Persians, where Dsines was Lord: which both in nobilitie and riches, exceeded all other men in those parties, as one that conueyed his pedigree from Cyrus, that sometime was king of Persia.

The

The riches his predecessors left him was great, and he by a long continuance in his inheritance and authoritie, had much encreased the same. He met Alexander coming thitherwards, and presented both him and his friends, with gifts of sundrie sortes, with a great number of horses ready to be ridden vpon, Chariots wrought w gold and siluer, pretious stuffe, excellent pearles and pretious stones, weightie vessels of golde, robes of purple, and foure thousand talentes of coyned siluer: but that his liberalitie was occasion of his death. For when he had presented all the kinges frendes with giftes aboue theyr desire, hee honoured not with any giftes at all Bagoas the Eunuch, whom Alexander specially fauoured for the vsage he had of him. There were therefore that gaue him admonition how much Alexander esteemed Bagoas: but he answered them, that his custome was to honour the kinges frendes, and no harlots: For that it was not the Persians maner to haue any in estimation, which did effeminate themselves w so shamefull an abuse.

When his words were reported to the Eunuch he vsed the power which he had gotten by dishonest meanes, to the destruction of that noble and innocent man. For he did subornate certeine lewde persons of Dsines countrey, to bring in false accusations against him, which he wylled them to present at such time as hee shoulde appoint vnto them.

In

In the meane season, whensoever Bagoas got the king alone, he would fill his credulous eares with tales against Dsines, euer dissimuling y cause of his displeasure, least thereby he might lose the credit of his false report. The king had not Dsines yet in suspect of any such matter as afterwards was laid against him: but he began to grow with him out of estimation. His accusation was euer so secret, y hee could neuer get knowledge of the perill y was priuily wrought against him. That importunate harlot in his vile conuersatio had with y king, was mindfull euer of the malice he bare to Dsines, whom he would not cease to bring in suspitiō of couetousnes, or of rebellion, so oft as he sawe Alexander bent to vse him familiarly. By y time y false accusations were in redines, y he had prepared to y destruction of the innocent: whose fatall destinie appproching could not be auoided. It chanced y Alexander caused the tombe wherein Cyrus body was buried, to be opened, pretending to vse certeine ceremonies for the dead: But thinking in very deede y his tombe had bene full of golde and siluer, whereof there was a constant fame amongst y Persians. But when it was viewed there was nothing found, but a rotten target, y Scythian bowes, & a sword. Alexander caused y coffin wherein Cyrus body was laid, to be covered with the garment he accustomed to wear, & set thereon a crowne of golde, marueiling that there was no more sumptuousnes vsed in burial
of

of such a king, endued with so great riches, lying there but after the common sorte of menne. When this thing was in doing, Bagoas stood next vnto Alexander, who behelde him in y face and saide,

What marueile is it though the sepulchers of kings bee emptye, when Lordes houses be not able to receiue the golde they haue taken out from thence? For my part I neuer saw this tombe before: but I haue heard Darius report, that there were three thousand talents buried with Cyrus. Whereof (quoth hee) proceeded Darius liberallitie in winning your fauour by the gift of the thing, which he knew he could not keepe.

When hee had thus stirred vp Alexanders wrath against Darius, he presented them who hee had suborned to accuse him: By whose report, and by Bagoas surmised tales, Alexander was so incensed against Darius, that hee was put in prison, before he could suspect that he was accused. The Eunuch was not contented wyth the destruction of this innocent man, but at his death laide violent hands vpon him: To whom Darius saide: I haue heard that women in times past haue reigned, and borne great rule in Asia: but it is now a most straunge thing that a gelding should haue the Empire in his hands. This was the ende of the moste noble man amongst the Persians, who was not onely an innocent in this matter, but such a one as bare singuler affection vnto Alexander, and had shewed great liberalitie to him and his. At the same time Phradates, which was suspected to haue gone about to make himselfe king, was put to death.

death. Alexander began then to be much enclined to the shedding of blood, and to be credulous in hearing of euill report: prosperitie is of such a force to chaunge a mans nature, wherein few men haue consideration of vertue. Thus he that a litle before would not condemne Lincestes Alexander, when he was accused by two witnesses: that suffered diuers of more meane estate to be acquitted, though it grudged his mynde, because they seemed not guiltie to other men: And he which bestowed kingdomes vpon his enemies, whome hee had subdued, was in the ende so much altered from his former inclination, y against his owne appetite, at the will of an harlot, he would giue kingdomes to some, and take away the liues from other. About y same time hee receiued letters of thinges done in Europe, whereby he vnderstode that whilest he was in India, Zopirus his Lieutenant in Thrace dyd make a iourney against the Getes, where by stormes and tempestes that suddenly rose vppon him, he was destroied and all his army. When Seuthesodrylas vnderstode the defeate of that army, he procured the Thracians that were his countrey men to reuolte: So that all Thrace was in maner lost thereby, and Greece stode in no great suretie. The writers of the actes of great Alexander, make mention in this place of Calanus an Indian, that was verie famous in Philosophie, which by perswasion of king Darius followed Alexander, and ended his life after a strange

a strange sort. When he had liued lxxij. without any disease, at his coming into Persia, hee felte a paine in his belly, whereby coniecturing that the ende of his life was come, least such a perpetuall felicitie as he had liued in, shoulde be spotted with any long disease, or tormented with the multitude of medicines, which Physicians vse to minister, requyred Alexander that he might cause a fire to be made, and to burne himself in the same. The king began to diswaide him from his purpose, thinking to haue brought him from the doing of so horrible an acte: but when hee perceiued with what stedfastnes and constancie he stood in his intent, and that there was no way to keepe him any longer alieue, hee suffered a fyre to be made according to his will, whereinto Calanus did ride on horsebacke, making first his prayer to the Gods of his country: and taking the Macedons by the handes, requyred them y they would spend that day pleasantly in banquetting with their king, whom within a while he should see at Babylon. When he had spoken those words, he went merily into y fyre, whereas plying his body comely, kepte still the same gesture and countenance at his death, that he was wont to vse. When the fyre flamed, the trumpets blew, the men of warre making such a shoute, as they accustomed going to the battaile, which rebounded vp to the sky, and the Elephants also made a terrible noise. These bee the things that sage writers do testifie of Calanus;

nus, which was a notable example of an inuincible minde, constantly bent to suffer any aduersitie. From thence Alexander went into Susa, whereas he tooke to wife, and lawfully married Statira, Darius eldest daughter: Whose younger sister called Dripetis, he gaue to wife vnto Ephestion. And bestowed to the number of lxxx. virgins of the noblest of all the nations hee had conquered, to the principall Macedons, and to y chiefest of his friends, because he would not seeme alone to begin so strange a custome. These marriages were celebrated after the Persian manner, and a princely feast prouided at the espousals: Whereat there were lx. M. guests, to euery one of whom Alexander gaue a drinking cup of golde. At the same time the rulers of the Cities, which Alexander had subdued and builded, sent vnto him xxx. M. young souldiers, that were all of one age, furnished with faire armour apte to do any enterprize of the warre, which he called Epygony, that is to say his successors. The Macedons at their coming seemed to be somewhat appalled, which wearied with long warre, bled often in assemblies to murmur, and speake mutinous wordes against the king. For that cause hee had prepared these souldiers to reſtreine the arrogancie of other, and gaue vnto them great benefites. Harpalus, to whom the king had committed the charge of the treasure and reuenues at Babylon, hearing of the actes that Alexander had done in subduing the moze parte of the

kinges of India, and his successe to be so prosperous, that nothing could withstande him: knowing the unsatiabie desire that was in Alexander to visite farre countreys, and to encrease his glorie, thought it should bee a harde matter for him to returne to Babilon againe. Wherefore gaue himselfe to delight and to lust, misusing many that were noble and free women, & wallowed in all kind of voluptuousnes: In so much that hee sent into Athens for a famous harlotte called Potonice, to whome he both gaue manie great and princely giftes whilest she was alieue, and also after her death spent thirtie talents vpon her tombe. Hauing in these and such other like voluptuous wasted & vanities consumed a great part of the treasure, when he vnderstoode Alexander to be come out of India, and to vse extreme iustice vpon his officers, that misused them of whome he had rule, (by reason he was priuy to his foule conscience) he feared the lyke might come to himselfe: And therefore gathering together fve thousand talentes, & six thousand mercenary souldiers, tooke y way towards Athens, no man willing to receiue him by the way. When he came to Lenaron (whereas a great number of the mercenary Greekes, which had bene discharged out of Asia, were assembled) he left his souldiers there, and went to Athens with his money: when he was come thither, great number of the citizens flocked about him, more for loue of his money, then for his
own

owne sake: but specially the Orators, and such as vsed to make their game by orations, & perswading of the people: whom by small rewards he easily corrupted to defend his cause with the people. But afterwardes at a generall assembly vpon the matter, he was commanded to depart the Citie, and so returned amongst the Greeke souldiers, by whome he was slaine. Therefore with thirtie shippes they passed ouer to Sunium, which is a point of the lande in the territorie of Athens, from whence they determined to haue entered into Athens hauen. These thinges being knowne, Alexander that was sore moued as well against the Athenians, as against Harpalus, prepared a great flauye to make war in person immediately against them. And as hee was busied about the matter, he vnderstoode by secret letters, how both Harpalus had bene in Athens, and corrupted with money the chiefe of the Citie: And also how that afterwardes by a counsell of the people, he was commaunded to depart from thence, who returning amongst the Greeke souldiers, was slaine by one of them by treason. These newes greatly reioiced Alexander, whereby hee had occasion to leaue off his iourney into Europe: but he sent commaundement to all the cities of Greece, that they should receiue againe all theyr banished men, excepte such onely as had committed any murther vpon their owne countrey men. Although the Greekes knew the same to be the breach of theyr
liber

liberties, and their lawes, and the beginning of
theyr bondage, yet as men that durst not diso-
beie his will, they called home theyr banished
men, and restozed to them such of their goodes
as did remaine. Onely the Athenians which e-
uer defended obstinately the liberties of theyr
common wealth, and which had not bene accu-
stomed to liue vnder the obedience of any king,
but vnder the lawes and customes of their coun-
trei, would not agree that such dregge of men
should liue amongst them, but did driue them
out of their boundes, ready to suffer any thing
rather then to receiue such, as sometime were
the rascals of theyr Citie, and then the refuse of
all the outlawes. The time was come, that A-
lexander minded to dismisse his olde souldiers,
and send them into their countrey: but he wil-
led first xij. thousand footmen, and y. M. horsmen
to be chosen out to remaine still in Asia, which
he iudged might be kept with a small army, be-
cause (he thought) the garrisons he had planted
in many places, & the cities which he had newly
builded & filled with inhabiteurs, should be able
to stay such as would attempt any rebellion.
But before he would make any diuision of such
as should depart & remain, he caused a proclama-
tion to bee made y^e all souldiers shoulde declare
their debts (wherwith he perceiued many to be
fore burdened) and though their debt did rise by
theyr owne disorder & excesse, yet he was deter-
mined to discharge euery man. But the souldi-
ers

ers, thinking it had bene but a deaife to trie out
the prodigall from the rest, delaied the time, and
brought not in theyr declarations. The king per-
ceiued shame to be thereof, & no disobedience or
selfe will: And therefore caused tables to bee set
vp thzough his camp, & x. M. talents to be brought
forth: of all which treasure when their debtes
were paid, according to the iust declaratiō, there
remained no more but a Cxxx. talents. Wherby
it appeared that they which were the conque-
rors of so many rich natiōs, brought out of Asia,
more glorie then spoile. But after it was once
knowne y^e some should be dispatched, & some re-
maine still, they thought y^e king would haue esta-
blished his kingdom perpetually in Asia. Where-
fore like mad men, & vnmindfull of all discipline
of warre, they filled the campe full of all sediti-
ous words, and came vnto the king more arro-
gantly, & with greater rigour then euer they did
before, al with one voice, requyryng to be dischar-
ged, shewing forth the hoarines of their hayre, &
their faces deformed wth skars. And herein they
could not bee staied, either by chastisemēt of the
officers, or by any reuerence of theyr king: but
when he would haue spoken vnto them, they
would not suffer him to be heard, but disturbed
his tale with theyr tumultuous crie, and byo-
lent throng: protesting openly that they would
neuer moue one foote forwards to any place, ex-
cept it were towards their owne countrey. After
a great space, (because they thought that Alex-
ander

ander would encline to theyr purpose) they kept silence, and stode in expectation what he would do. When Alexander spake vnto them.

What meaneth this sodaine trouble of mynde, thys so malipert, and vnlawfull libertie? I am afrayde to speake vnto you: you haue so manifestly broken your obedience towardes mee. I am nowe become a king at the appointment of my people: you haue neither lefte me the libertie to knowe you, to exhort you, nor to beholde you. Being determined to sende some into their countrey befoze, and to bring the rest with mee shortly after: I see them as well that shall be now dispatched crying and mutining, as those that I appoint to come with mee. What a matter is this? Their crie is alyke, notwithstanding that their cause is diuers. I woulde faine knowe whether they complaine that departe, or they that tary still.

When he had spoken those words, they cryed all (as it had been with one mouth) that they complained euery man: When he said.

Truely it cannot be so: nor I cannot be perswaded that you should all be greued for the cause you declare, seeing the case toucheth not the most part of you: for I haue appointed more to depart, then to remaine still. There must needs be some greater mischiefe then appereth, that should turne you all from mee: when was it euer seene, that an whole armye hath forsaken their king? The slaues runne not from their maisters all at once: but there is alwayes a shame in some to leaue them, whom the rest forsakes. But why doe I forget that you bee mad in your mindes: or why go I about to cure you that bee incurable? I condemne fro hence forth all the good hope that euer I conceiued of you, & am determined to worke no more with you, as with my souldiers (seeing yee will not bee mine) but with men bugratefull and bminndfull of my goodnes. The cause of this your madnesse, is euen the aboundance of your prosperitie, whereby you forget your olde estate, from the which yee be deliuered through my benefite. You are men woorthy to haue spent your liues in your for-

mer beggerie, seeing you can better beare aduersitie then prosperous fortune. Beholde, you which a while ago were tributaries to the Illyrians and Persians, doe now disdaine Asia, and the spoyle of so many nations. You, which vnder Philip went halfe naked, nowe you contemne robes of purple. Your eyes cannot endure to beholde any longer the sight of gold and siluer. You desire againe your wooden dishes, your targets made of wyckes, and your swordes couered with rust. I receiued you in this simple estate, with five hundred talentes in debt, when all my furnytures exceeded not in value fortie talentes. This was my foundation of my actes, wherewith (without enuy be it spoken) I haue subdued the greatest part of the world. Are you weary of Asia, which hath ministred vnto you occasion of such glorie, that by the greatnes of your actes, ye bee made equall with the Gods? Do you all make such haste in to Europe, to forsake mee that am your king? The more parte of you shoulde haue lacked money to beare your charge thither, if I of my beneuolence had not paid your debtes. Are you not ashamed that haue robbed all Asia, to beare the spoiles of so manie Nations within your bellies, and nowe to returne home to your wyues and children, vnto whom there bee but fewe of you that can shewe any rewardes of your victorie? For many of you shall bee compelled to gage your armour, if ye forsake this good hope, which ye might receiue at my handes. These be the good men of warre that I shal want, which of all their riches haue nothing lefte them, but onely their concubines. The way lieth open for your departure: get you hence quickly out of my sight. I with the Persians shall defend your backs when yee be gone. I will hold none of you: deliuer mine eyes ye bngratefull countrey men, of the sight I see of you. Shal your parents and children receiue you with ioy, when they shal see you retourne without your king? Shall they conet to make such as be fugitiues, and forsakers of their Prince? I truely shal triumph vpon your departure: and wheresoeuer you shall bee, I shal desire to be reuenged, honouring alwayes, and preferring befoze you, those which ye haue left here with mee. Now ye shal know of what force an army is that lack-

with a king, and what moment doth consist in me alone? When he had spoken those wordes, he leaped in a fury from the iudgement seate, and ran into the throng of the armed men: whereas he took with his owne hands such as had mutined most against him. Of whome there being none that durst make resistance, he deliuered rij. vnto his garde to be safely kept. Who would thinke an assembly which a litle before had spoken to their prince with such fierceness and rigor, could haue bene so sodeinly appalled for feare? Which seeing they companions led to execution, durst not moue, nor make attempt. But the inordinate libertie they vsed before, their seditious violence was then so staied, that not one of them durst resist the king running amongst them, but were all astonied for feare, and stood like men amazed, with doubtfull imaginations, looking what he would determine of the offenders. Whether it were the reuerence they bare to his name, because the Nations that liue vnder kinges, are wont to honor them as Goddes, or were it the maiestie of his person, or els his owne assured constancie, executing his authoritie with such violence, which put them in feare: they shewed a notable example of patience. For they remained not only without stirre or motion at the execution of they companions (whom they knew to be put to death in the night time) but were also more diligent in doing their duties then euer they were before: pretermittting nothing

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perteining to obedience, and naturall affection towards they prince. For the next day when they came to the Court, and were not suffered to enter, but all shut out sauing the souldiers of Asia, they made a sorowfull crie and lamentation, which spred ouer all the campe, protesting y they would not liue, if the king continued still in his wrath. But he that was obstinate in all the things he had once conceiued in his heade, commanded all the Macedons to keepe still they campe, and assembled the souldiers straungers together, to whome by an interpreter hee made this Oracion.

At such time as I came first out of Europe into Asia, my trust was to bring many noble nations, & great power of menne, vnder myne Empire and dominion: wherein I was not deceiued. For besides that y same reported you to be men of valure, I haue found in you one thing more: which is an incomparable obedience, fidelitie, and affection towards your prince. I thought voluptuousnes had ouerflowne all vertue among you, and through your great felicitie, ye had borne downed in pleasures: But I finde it otherwise, and perceiue that none obserue the discipline and order of the wars, better then you do, nor execute the same with more ac-
tinitie nor stoutnes: And being manfull and balliant men, ye embrace fidelitie, no lesse then you doe the rest. This thing I doo but now acknowledge: but I knew it long ago: which was the cause that I chose you out of the youth of those nations, to bee my souldiers, and did incorporate you amongst mine owne people, causing you to vse the same habite, and the same armour: But your obedience and patience towards the authoritie, appeareth much better in you then in them. Therefore I haue sayned to my selfe in marriage, the daughter of Orates that is a Persian: not disdainning to beget children vpon a captive.

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And afterwards desiring more abundantly to increase the issue of my body, I took to wife the daughter of Darius, and was the authour that my neere freendes likewise should begette children vpon captiues: myning by this holy cauenant to exclude the difference betwene the victors and the vanquished. Wherefore you must nowe thinke that you bee not souldiers vnto mee adopted, but more naturall: And that Asia & Europe is one kingdome without any difference. I haue giuen vnto you armour after the manner of the Macedons. I haue brought all straungenes and noueltie into a custome: and nowe ye bee both my countrey men, and my souldiers, all thinges receiuing one forme and fashon. I haue not thought it vnseemely for the Persians to shadowe the customes of the Macedons, nor for the Macedons to counterfeyt the Persians: seeing they ought to be vnder one law & custome, that should liue vnder one king.

When he had made this oration, hee comitted the custodie of his person vnto the Persians: he made them of his garde, and his officers of iustice. By whome when the Macedons, which had giuen occasion of this sedition, were ledde bounde vnto execution, one of them that was more auncient and of greater estimation then the rest, spake after this maner.

How long will you thus giue place vnto your will, in executing vs after the strangers maner: Your souldiers and countrey men be drawn to execution by their owne prisoners, befoze their causes is heard. If you haue iudged vs worthy of death, at least way chaunge the ministers of your wrath.

This was a good admonishment if hee had bene pacient to heare the truth: but his wrath was growne into a woodnesse: so that when he saw them which had the charge of the prisoners stay a litle at the matter, he caused the prisoners to

to bee tumbled into the Riuer, and there drowned. Notwithstanding the cruelty of this punishment, the souldiers were not stirred to any sedition, but repaired by rolores vnto their Captaines, and vnto such as were neere about the king: requyring that if there yet remained any infected with the same offence, that he shoulde commaund them to be put to death, proffering theyr bodies to be punished and executed at his owne will. After it was knowne that the lieutenants shippes were giuen vnto the Persians, and that they were distributed into diuers orders with such names giue vnto them as were vnto the Macedons, and that they were reiecte with reproch, they coulde not then any longer conteine themselves, nor suffer the dolour they had conceiued in their hartes, but with a great throng pressed to the court, wearing onely theyr nethermost garmentes, and leauing theyr weapons without the gate in token of repentaunce. There with weeping, and all tokens of humilitie, they made request to be admitted to y^e kings presence, and that he would vouchsafe to pardon theyr offence: pacifying his wrath with y^e death of so many as he should thinke good, rather then to suffer them to liue in such reproch: which except he would release, they protested they would neuer depart out of the place.

When those thinges were declared vnto Alexander, he caused the court gates to be opened and came forth amongst them: Whereas beholding

holding their lamentation and repentance, their miserable behaviour and affliction, he could not abstaine to weepe long time with them: and in consideration of theyr modestie, forgave them theyr former offences. And after he had temperately tolde them theyr faults, and againe comforted them with gentle wordes, he discharged many from the seruice of the warres, and sente them home liberally rewarded: writing to Antipater his lieuetenant in Macedon, y he should assigne them the chiefe places in the theaters, at triumphes and open plaies, wheras they should sit with garlandes on their heades: willing that theyr children after theyr deathes, should enioye theyr fathers wages. He appointed Craterus to be theyr ruler, to whom in the place of Antipater, he had committed the gouernement of Macedon, Thessaly, & Thrace: sending for Antipater to repayre vnto him with a supply of young souldiers. Alexander had receiued letters before, both from him, & Olympias his mother: wherby dissention appeared to be betwixt them. For his mother accused Antipater, that he went about to make himselfe king. And Antipater did write how Olympias did many things otherwise she did become her. Antipater did take his calling away so greuously in his hart, that he conspyred thereupon to poyson Alexander: who hauing accomplished his matters that before he mentioned, went to Echatan (being in Medea) to set order in the necessary affaires of his Empire, and there

there ordeined solempne triumphs and feasting. It chaunced Ephestion, whom the king specially loued, & vsed in place of a brother, to die the same time of a feuer: Whose death Alexander toke more sorrowfully then may well bee credited, committing in his dolor many things that did not beseme the maiestie of a prince. He commanded Ephestions phisition to be hanged, as though he had died through his negligence. He lay embracing of the dead bodie, and could hardly bee taken away by his frendes, but continued hys sorrowe night and day. There be many other thinges written in that behalfe, which be scarcely credible. But it is certeine that hee commanded sacrifice to be made vnto him as vnto a God, and consumed in his buriall, and in making of his tombe, aboue twelue thousand talents. As he was returning to Babylon, y Caldean Prophets met him on the way, exhorting him that he should not enter into the Citie, for that it was signified, that if he went thither at that time, he should be in great perill of his life. Notwithstanding he regarded not their admonishments, but went forwardes in his iourney, according as he appointed. For he understode that Embassadors were come thither from all Regions, tarying for his coming. The terrour of his name was so spred throughtout the world, that all Nations shewed an obsequiousnes towardes him, as though he had bene appointed to be their king.

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That caused him to make haste to Babylon, to keepe there as it were a Parliament of y^e whole world. When he was come thither, he receiued the Embassadors gently, and afterwardes dispatched them home againe. There was about the same time a banquet prepared at one Thessalus Medius house, whereunto the king being bidden, came thither with such as were appointed to keepe him companie: But hee had not so soone dronke of Hercules cuppe, but that he gaue a grunt as though he had bene stricken vnto the hart. And being caried out of the feast halfe dead was so tormented with paine, that hee requyred a sword to haue killed himselfe. His friends did publish abroade, dronkenness to be the cause of hys disease: but in verie deede it was prepenised treason, the infamie whereof, the power of hys successores did oppresse. The poyson prepared long before, was deliuered by Antipater vnto Cassander his sonne, which with his brethren Phillip and Nolla, were wont to serue the king at meate. He was warned that he shoulde not commit the same poyson to any person, excepte it were to Thessalus, or to his brethren. Phillip therefore and Nolla, which were wont to take the say of the kinges cuppe, hauing the poyson ready in colde water, mixed it with wine, after they had tasted it. When the fourth day was come, the souldiers, partly for that they suspected he had bene dead, and partly because they could not endure to wante long his sight, came sorrowfully

sorrowfully vnto the court, desiring to see y^e king, which by his commaundement were admitted to his presence, by such as had the charge of hys person. When they behelde him lying in y^e case, they made great sorrow and lamentation: for he seemed not to them to bee the same they^e king, whom they were wont to see, but rather a dead corpes. If their grieve was great, the sorrowe of them that stood next to the bed appeared much more, whome when Alexander behelde lamenting after that sort, he saide vnto them.

When I shall depart, you shal find a king worthy for such men as you be.

It is a thing incredible, howe that during the time that the souldiers of his whole army came to visite him, he neuer altered countenance nor gesture, but continued in that kinde of presence he gaue vnto the first, to the last man. When he had dismissed the multitude, as though hee had bene discharged of all debt of life, he lay bowne againe to rest his weake bodie: and his voyce beginning to fayle him, hee commaunded hys frendes to come nere about him. Then taking his King from his finger, he deliuered it to Perdicas, and gaue therewith a commaundement, that his bodie shoulde be conueied to Hammon. They demaunded to whom he would leaue his kingdome. He said: to the worthiest. By which wordes it appeared that he foresawe the contention that was like to ensue vpon his death. Perdicas moreover demaunded of him, when

he woulde haue diuine honors done vnto him :
 At such time (quoth he) as you shall finde your
 selues in felicitie . These were the last wordes
 Alexander spake, and shortly after hee died. Im-
 mediately after his death, the Court was full
 of howling, lamenting, and sorow making: & by
 and by, as it had bene in a deserte or solitarie
 place, all things were whist, & a sorrowful silence
 was spread ouer all, euerie man being conuerted
 into imagination, what should become of y mat-
 ter. The young men of the Nobilitie, that were
 accustomed about Alexanders person, could not
 beare the greatnes of theyr dolour, nor keep the-
 selues within the compasse of the court, but ran
 about as men out of theyr wits: wherby y citie
 was filled with heauines & complaint, and no
 kinde of lamentation pretermitted, that sorowe
 is wont to minister in such a case. Such there-
 fore as were within the Court, vnderstanding
 this matter, as well Macedons as others, came
 running thither, whereas the conquerors from
 the conquered, nor the victors from the van-
 quished could not bee discerned: the sorow was
 so indifferent to them all. The Persians called
 vpon theyr iust and mercifull Lord, & the Ma-
 cedons made inuocation to him that was so va-
 liant & gracious a king: And thus there was a
 certaine contention of sorow amongst the. Men
 did not vse theyr onely wordes of griefe and hea-
 uines, but also of grudge & indignation, that so
 young a prince, being in the flower of his age,

of his fortunate successe, shoulde by the enuy of
 the Gods, be so taken out of this world. They
 called to remembrance what a cheerefulnesse
 they had alwaies seene in his countenance, both
 when hee ledde them vnto the battaile, when
 he besieged or assaulted any Citie, or when hee
 would giue any commendation to the worthie
 in any assembly. Then the Macedons repented
 y euer they had denied him diuine honors: con-
 fessing themselves both wicked and vngateful
 for depriuing him of any name, whereof he was
 worthie. And when they had continued long in
 the veneration and desire of him that was dead
 then they began to pitie theyr owne case, which
 comming out of Macedon, were past the Riuer
 of Euphrates, amongst the middest of their ene-
 mies, that vnwillingly receiued their newe go-
 uernement. They sawe themselves leste desti-
 tute, and the Emperour without any certaine
 heire: for want of whome, euerie one would go
 about to draue the power of his state vnto his
 priuate behoufe.

And then they began to conceiue and foresee in
 their mindes the ciuill wars y did ensue, & that
 they should be enforced to shed their blood again
 not for the conquest of Asia, but for the title of
 such one y would seeke to make himselfe king:
 whereby their olde skars shoulde breake out a-
 gaine into newe woundes. And moreover that
 such as by reason of their age had bene dis-
 charged from the warres by their noble and
 right

righteous king, should now be enforced to spend their liues in the quarrell of some such a one as was but his souldier. Whilest they were in these imaginations, the night came on, and encreased their terrour. The menne of warre watched in harnesse, and the Babylonians looked ouer the walles, peeping out from the toppes of their houses, to spie some certieintie how the matter wēt. There was none that durst kinde anye light: And because the vse of the eye did faile, they laid their eares to heare the rumors and words that were spoken: And many times they were afraid when no cause was, and when they met together in the narrow streetes, or darke lanes, they would be amazed, and suspect ech other as enemies. The Persians after their accustomed manner, clypped their hayze, and with their wyues and children lamented the death of Alexander in mourning garments, with unfained affection not as a conquerour, as one that lately had been their enemy, but as their righteous and naturall king. For they being accustomed to liue vnder a king, could thinke no man worthy but hee to rule ouer them. This sorow was not contained within the walles of the Citie, but streight waies spread ouer all the cuntrey thereabouts. And the fame of so great a mischiefe flying thoroughout all Asia, brought some tidings thereof vnto Darius mother. She at the first reportede asunder the garment she ware, and put on mourning appaile: she pulled her hayze, and

fell downe groueling vpon the earth. One of her pæces sate by her mourning the death of Cephestion, whom she had maryed, and in an vniuersall heauines bewailed the cause of her ppyuate sorow. But Sisigambis alone sustained all their miseries, and bewailed both her own case, and her pæces: her fresh sorow causing her to call to minde things past. A man would haue iudged by her behauour that Darius had bene newly slaine, and that she had celebrated the funerals of both her sonnes together. She did not onely lament the dead, but sorowed also for the liuing. Who shall now (quoth she) take care of these young women: or who can bee like vnto Alexander? now we be taken prisoners againe: now we be newly fallen from our dignitie and estate. After Darius death we found one to defend vs. But nowe since Alexander is gone, who will haue respect of vs?

Amongst these thinges she called to mynde, how Dechus the cruell king had slaine her father, and foure score of her brethren in one day, and that of seauen children borne of her body, there was but one left alliue. She saw that fortune had aduanced Darius, and caused him to flourish for a time, to the intent he might end his life by greater crueltie. Finally she was so overcome with sorow, that she couered her head, turning her self from her pæce and Cephestion that sate at her fæle, and absteyning both from meat and from be, clding of the light, ended her life &

hit day after she was determined to die. Whys her death was a great argument of the clemencie that Alexander had shewed towards her, and of the iustice towards all the captiues: seeing that after Darius death she could abide to liue, but after Alexanders departure, she was ashamed to continue any longer. Considering Alexander rightcoulsly, we must impute all his vertues to his owne nature, and his vyces eyther to his youth, or to the greatnes of his fortune.

There was in him an incredible force of courage and an exceeding sufferance of trauaile. He was endued with manhoode: exceeding, not onely amongst kings, but also amongst such as had no other vertue nor qualitie.

He was of such liberalitie, that oftentimes he gaue greater thinges, then the receiuers could haue wished for of God. The multitude of kingdoms y he gaue in gift, & restored to such from whom he had taken them by force, was a token of his clemencie towards them that he subdued. He shewed a perpetuall contempt of death, the feare whercof doth amaze other men. And as there was in him a greater desire of glory and worldly praise then reason would beare, so was it tollerable in so yong a man, enterprising such great & notable actes. The reuerence and affection he bare towards his parents, appeared in y purpose he had to consecrate hys mother Olimpias to immortalitie, and in that he sore reuenged Philips death. Howe gentle and familiar

was

was he towards his frinds, and how beneuolent towards his souldiers? He had a wisdom equal to the greatnes of his hart, and such a policie and foresight, as so young yeres were scarcely able to receiue. A measure he had in immoderate pleasures, and lusted lesse then nature desired, vsing no pleasure, but that was lawfull: these were wonderfull great giftes and vertues. But in that he compared himselfe to the Gods, conceiting diuine honors, & beloued the Diuities that perswaded such thinges: that he was offended with them that would not worship him, and giuen more vehemently to wrath then was expedient: That he altered his habite and apparell into the fashion of straungers, and counterfeited the custome of them that he had subdued, & despised befoze his victorie: these were vyces to be attributed to the greatnes of fortune. As the heat of youth stirred him to anger, & to y desire of drinking: so age might haue mitigated again those faultes. Notwithstanding it must needs be confessed, that though hee preuailed much by his vertue, yet might he to impute more to hys fortune, which onely of all mortall men he had in his owne power.

How often did he deliuer him from the point of death? How oft did she defend him with perpetual felicity, when he had rashly brought himselfe in perill? And when she pointed an ende to his glory, she euen then was content to finish his life: staying his fall destinie, till he had sub-

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dued the Orient, visited the Ocean Sea, and fulfilled all that mans mortality is able to perform. To this so great a king, and so noble a conqueror, a successor was looked for. But the matter was of ever great importance for any one man to take upon him: Alexanders renowne and name was so great amongst all nations: and they were counted most noble, that might be partakers, (though it were neuer so little) of his prosperous fortune. But to retourne againe to Babylon, from whence the digression hath bene made: They which had the garde & custodie of Alexanders person, called into the Court such as had bene his chiefe frendes, and Captaines of his men of warre: after whome also there followed a great multitude of souldiers, desiring to know who should be successor unto Alexander.

The throng of the souldiers was such, that many of the Capitaines were excluded, & could not enter into the Court. A proclamation therefore was made, whereby all men were forbidden to enter, except such as were called by name.

But because their commaundement seemed to want authoritie, it was little regarded: and the multitude at the first began to make a greivous sorrow and lamentation. But immediately the desire they had to vnderstand the successe of the matter stopped their lamentation, and made silence. When Perdicas brought forth in sight of all the people, the kings Chaire of estate, wher-

in Alexanders diademe, his besture regall, and his armour were laide: amongst the which ornaments, Perdicas also laid downe the kings signet, deliuered to him the day before, at the sight whereof they began to weepe, and to renew againe their sorrow. Then said Perdicas.

Lo, here is the King wherewith hee was wont to seale such thinges, as pertained to the gouernment of the Empire, which as he deliuered to mee, I so restore it againe to you. And although no aduertise can be devised by the Gods (were they neuer so much offended) comparable to this: Yet considering the greatnes of the actes which he hath done, we must thinke that as the Gods sent such a man so to raise in the worlde (hys time being expyred that was appointed) they haue called him againe to the place from whence he came.

Forasmuch therefore as none other thing remaineth of him amongst vs, but onely that which is alwayes wont to be remoued from immortallitie: let vs performe the due, pertaining both to his bodie, and to hys name: remembryng in what Citie we be, among what kinde of people, and what a king and gouernour we haue lost. Wee must debate and deuise how to maintaine our conquest amongst them of whom it is gotten: For the doing whereof, it is needfull for vs to haue an head. But whether the same be one or many, it doth consist in you. You are not ignorant, that a multitude of men of warre without an head, is as a body without life. Six moneths be now passed, since Roxan was conceived with childe: we desire of God that she may bring forth a sonne, which may enjoy thys kingdome, when he cometh to age. In the meane season appoint you of whom ye will be gouerned.

When Perdicas had spoken those wordes, Pearchus rose vp and said.

There is no man can denie, but that it were meet for Alexanders succession to continue in the blood royall: but to looke for a king that is not yet borne, and to passe ouer one that is in his being already, is neyther expedient

dient for such menne as the Macedons be, nor yet doth serue the necessitie of the tyme. There is a sonne which Alexander be got by Barsynes: what should lette, why the Wyademe may not be set on his head:

Pearchus tale was acceptable to no man. Therefore the souldiers according to their custome clashed their speares against their targets and continued making of a noise. And when hee would not forsake his opinion, but obstinately maintained the same, y^e matter had almost bred a sedition, which thing perceiued by Ptholomeus, he spake after this manner.

Neither the sonne of Roxane, nor Barsynes, is an issue mate to raigne ouer the Macedons: whose names we should be ashamed to mention within Europe, their mothers being captiues. Haue we subdued the Persians to that ende, to become subiect to such as be defended of them. That was the thing that Darius and Serpes, being Kinges of Persia, wrought for in vaine, with so many millions of men of warre, and with so many treasures. This therefore is mine opinion, that Alexanders chaire of estate be set in the myddest of his Court, and that all such as were wont to bee of counsaile with him, shall assemble together, so often as any matter requyeth to be consulted vpon: And that the Capitaines and Rulers of the army shall bee obedient to that order, whereunto the greater number do assent.

There were some agreed with Ptholomeus, but few with Perdicas. When Aristonius spake in this wise.

When Alexander was demaunded, to whome hee would leaue his kingdome, he willed the worthiest to be chosen. Whom iudged he worthiest but Perdicas, to whom he deliuered his Ring. This was not done at such tyme as hee was alone: but when all his frendes were present, hee did cast his eyes amongst them, and

at length chose out one, to whome he deliuered it. For this cause I thinke it right, that the kingdome be committed to Perdicas.

Many agreed to his opinion, so that the assembly cried to Perdicas that he shoulde come forth amongst them, and take by the kings signet. But hee stayed betwene ambition & shamefastnes, thinking that the more modestie he used in getting the thing he coueted, they woulde bee so much the more earnest to proffer it vnto him. When hee had stood a good while at a stay doubting what to doe, at length he drew backe, and stood behynde them that late next vnto hym. When Meleager that was one of the Capitaines, sawe the stay that Perdicas made, he tooke courage vpon his feblenes, and saide.

Neither the Goddes will permit, nor men will suffer, that Alexanders estate, and the weyght of such a great Empire should rest vpon his shoulders: I will not rehearse howe there bee many men more noble then hee is, and of greater worthinesse, without whose consent no such thing may bee suffered to bee done. There is no difference whether yee make Perdicas king, or the sonne of Roxane, whensoever he shall bee borne: Seeing Perdicas goeth about to make himself king. That is the cause why no king can please him, but such a one as is not yet borne. And in such a haste as all we make for to haue a king (which haste is both meete and necessary for the preservation of our estate) hee onely doth waite for the expyng of tyme and moneths: imagining that hee shoulde bring forth a man childe, which I thinke yee doubt not but that hee is ready to counterfeyte and exchange, if neede bee. If it were so in verie dede, that Alexander had appointed him to be our king: I am of opinion, that y^e same thing

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When he had spoken those wordes, he brake through the pzease of armed men: and they y gaue him way, followed him to the spoile, wher of he had made mention. The grædinesse of the treasure caused a great bande of armed men to flocke about Meleager, and the assembly began to fall to disorder & sedition: which had growne to greater inconuenience, if a meane souldier, (whom very few did know) had not stept forth, and spoken to the multitude.

What neede we (quoth hee) to fall to force or cyuill warre, seeing we haue a king already, which you seeke to finde: The same is Arideus Philips sonne, brother to Alexander that lately was our king, borne & brought vp in the same religion & ceremonies that wee doe vse: who being the onely heire, I marueile by what deseruing of his he is ouerslipped, and what he hath done why he should not enjoy his right, descended to him by the vniuersall lawe of the world: If you seeke one to bee comparable to Alexander, you shall neuer finde him. If you will haue such one as shall appzoch nerte vnto him, this is onely he.

When these words were heard amongst the multitude, thei kept silence at the first, as if they had bene commaunded by authoritie: but afterwards they cried with one voice, that Arideus should be called, and that they were worthis of death, which made any assembly without him. Then Pytho all besprinkled with teares, began to speake.

Nowe I perceiue (quoth he) Alexanders case to be
most

most miserable, seeing he is defrauded of the fruite, that such as were his souldiers and subiectes should bring forth at such time as this is. If ye haue respect onely to the name and memorie of your king, be viterly blind in the rest of things.

His wordes tended directly to the reproche of Arideus, that was elected king. But the tale procured more hatred to the speaker, then contempt to him against whom they were meant. For the compassion they had of Arideus, caused them the more to fauour his cause: and therefore declared by an obstinate crye, that they would not suffer any to reigne ouer them, but him onely which was borne to that possibilitie: and still called for Arideus to come forth amongst them. Whereupon Meleager (for the malice and enuy he bare vnto Perdicas) took an occasion bololie to bring him into the assembly, whom the multitude saluted as king, and called him Philip. This was the voice of the people: but the nobilitie was of another minde, of whome Pytho took vpon him to put Perdicas deuise in execution, and appointed Perdicas and Leonatus (descended of the bloud royall) to bee gouernors of the sonne which should be borne of Roxane: adding moreouer, that Craterus and Antipater should haue the rule within Europe: And vpon this they sware the souldiers to be obedient vnto Alexanders issue. Meleager then doubting (not without cause) that some euill might come to him, departed with such as were of his faction: but he returned immediately againe, bringing

ging Philip with him into the Court, and cryed out to the multitude for the assisting of the common wealth, in ayding of the newe king, whome a litle before they had elected: and wylled them to make an experiment of his actiuitie perswading them that hee was the meetest to rule ouer them, being the issue of Philip, that had both a king to his father, and a king to his brother. There is no profound Sea so stormie nor tempestuous, that raiseth vp so many scourges and waues, as a multitude doth motions & alterations, when they haue gotten the bridle of a new libertie, not likely long to continue.

There wanted not some that gaue their consent to Perdicas: but more agreed to make Philip king. They could neyther agree nor disagree to any thing long time together: one whyle repenting them of that they had determined, and straight waies forthought them of that repentance. Yet finally, they were enclined to preferre the kings bloud. Arideus was put in such feare with the authoritie of the nobilitie, that he departed out of the assembly, after whose departure, the fauour of the souldiers was rather silent, then decayed towards him: So that at length he was called againe, and his brothers vesture regall, which lay in the Chaire, put vpon him. And Meleager put on his armour, following as a defence to the person of the newe king. The souldyers of the foteband clashed their speares to their Targettes, threatening to shedde their
bloud

bloud, which would couet the kingdom that pertained not to them. They reioiced that the force of the Empire should not be disperkled, but still continue in the same family: the right of whose enheritance, coming of the bloud royall, they shewed themselves ready alwaies to defend. For by reason they were accustomed to haue y name of their king in such honour and veneration, they thought no man worthy for it, but such one as came thereunto by discent of bloud. Perdicas therfore was afraid, & with vi. C. men that wer of an approued manhode, tooke vpon him to defende the place whereas the body of Alexander lay. Ptolemeus ioynded himselfe vnto him also, and the bande of the yong gentlemen that were about the kings person. But so many thousands of armed men as were vpon the other side, dyd easily breake in vpon them: Amongst whom y king was present with a great band of the gard about his person: wherof Meleager was chiefe. Perdicas therfore in a great fury, called such to his part as would defend Alexanders body: but many of them were sore hurte with dartes that were throwne from the contrary side. At length the auncient men plucked of their head peeces, (the better to be knowne) and desired them that were with Perdicas to abstain from ciuil war, and giue place to the king, and to the greater parte. Whereupon Perdicas was the first that laide downe his weapon, and the rest did in like manner.

diene for such menne as the Macedons be, nor yet doth serue the necessitie of the time. There is a sonne which Alexander be got by Barsines: what should lette, why the Diademe may not be set on his head:

Searchus tale was acceptable to no man. Therefore the souldiers according to their custom clashed their speares against their targets and continued making of a noise. And when hee would not forsake his opinion, but obstinately mainteined the same, y^e matter had almost bred a sedition, which thing perceived by Ptholomeus, he spake after this maner.

Neither the sonne of Roxane, nor Barsines, is an issue meete to raigne ouer the Macedons: whose names we should be ashamed to mention within Europe, their mothers being captiues. Haue we subdued the Persians to that ende, to become subiect to such as be descended of them. What was the thing that Darius and Serpes, being kinges of Persia, wrought for in vaine, with so many millions of men of warre, and with so many shaypes. This therefore is mine opinion, that Alexanders chayer of estate be set in the myddest of his Court, and that all such as were wont to bee of counsaile with him, shall assemble together, so often as any matter requyeth to bee consulted vpon: And that the Capitaines and Rulers of the army shall bee obedient to that order, whereunto the greater number do assent.

There were some agreed with Ptholomeus, but few with Perdicas. When Aristonius spake in this wise.

When Alexander was demaunded, to whome hee would leaue his kingdome, he willed the worthiest to be chosen. Whom iudged he worthiest but Perdicas, to whom he deliuered his King. This was not done at such time as hee was alone: but when all his frendes were present, hee did cast his eyes amongst them, and

at length chose out one, to whome he deliuered it. For this cause I thinke it right, that the kingdome be committed to Perdicas.

Many agreed to his opinion, so that the assembly cried to Perdicas that he shoulde come forth amongst them, and take by the kings signet. But hee stayed betwene ambition & shamefastnes, thinking that the more modestie he be sed in getting the thing he coueted, they would be so much the more earnest to proffer it vnto him. When hee had stode a good while at a stay doubting what to doe, at length he drew backe, and stode behynde them that late nexte vnto hym. When Meleager that was one of the Capitaines, sawe the stay that Perdicas made, he tooke courage vpon his feblenes, and saide.

Neither the Goddes will permit, nor men will suffer, that Alexanders estate, and the weyght of such a great Empire should rest vpon his shoulders: I will not rehearse howe there be many men more noble then hee is, and of greater worthinesse, without whose consent no such thing may be suffered to be done. There is no difference whether yee make Perdicas king, or the sonne of Roxane, whensoever he shall be borne: Seeing Perdicas goeth about to make himself king. That is the cause why no king can please him, but such a one as is not yet borne. And in such a haste as all we make for to haue a king (which haste is both meete and necessary for the preservation of our estate) hee onely doth waite for the expyng of tynes and moneths: imagining that hee shoulde bring forth a man childe, which I thinke yee doubt not but that hee is ready to counterfeyte an exchange, if neede bee. If it were so in verie dede, that Alexander had appointed him to be our king: I am of opinion, that y^e same thing

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only (of all things he hath commaunded) ought not to be performed and kept. Why do not you runne therfore to spoile the treasure, seeing that the people ought to enherite it:

When he had spoken those wordes, he brake through the pzease of armed men: and they ygaue him way, followed him to the spoile, wherof he had made mention. The greedinesse of the treasure caused a great bande of armed men to flocke about Meleager, and the assembly began to fall to disorder & sedition: which had growne to greater inconuenience, if a meane souldier, (whom very few did know) had not kept forth, and spoken to the multitude.

What neede we (quoth hee) to fall to force or cyuill swarre, seeing we haue a king already, which you seeke to finde: The same is Arideus Philips sonne, brother to Alexander that lately was our king, borne & brought vp in the same religion & ceremonies that wee doe vse: who being the onely heire, I marueile by what deserting of his he is ouerslipped, and what he hath done why he should not enjoy his right, descended to him by the vniuersall lawe of the world: If you seeke one to bee comparable to Alexander, you shall neuer finde him. If you will haue such one as shall appzoch nerte vnto him, this is onely he.

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His wordes tended directly to the reproche of Arideus, that was elected king. But the tale procured more hatred to the speaker, then contempt to him against whom they were meant. For the compassion they had of Arideus, caused them the more to fauour his cause: and therefore declared by an obstinate crye, that they would not suffer any to reigne ouer them, but him onely which was borne to that possibilitie: and still called for Arideus to come forth amongst them. Whereupon Meleager (for the malice and enuy he bare vnto Perdicas) took an occasion bololie to bring him into the assembly, whom the multitude saluted as king, and called him Philip. This was the voice of the people: but the nobilitie was of another minde, of whome Pytho took vpon him to put Perdicas deense in execution, and appointed Perdicas and Leonatus (descended of the bloud royall) to bee gouernors of the sonne which should be borne of Roxane: adding moreouer, that Craterus and Antipater should haue the rule within Europe: And vpon this they sware the souldiers to be obedient vnto Alexanders issue. Meleager then doubting (not without cause) that some euill might come to him, departed with such as were of his faction: but he returned immediately againe, bringing

ging Philip with him into the Court, and cryed out to the multitude for the assisting of the common wealth, in ayding of the newe king, whome a litle before they had elected: and wylled them to make an experiment of his activitie perswading them that hee was the meetest to rule over them, being the issue of Philip, that had both a king to his father, and a king to his brother. There is no profound Sea so stormie nor tempestuous, that raiseth vp so many scourges and waues, as a multitude doth motions & alterations, when they haue gotten the bridle of a new libertie, not likely long to continue.

There wanted not some that gaue their consent to Perdicas: but more agreed to make Philip king. They could neyther agree nor disagree to any thing long time togither: one while repenting them of that they had determined, and streight waies forethought them of that repentance. Yet finally, they were enclined to preferre the kings blood. Arideus was put in such feare with the authoritie of the nobilitie, that he departed out of the assembly, after whose departure, the fauour of the souldiers was rather silent, then decayed towards him: So that at length he was called againe, and his brothers vesture regall, which lay in the Chaire, put vpon him. And Seleager put on his armour, following as a defence to the person of the newe king. The souldyers of the foteband clashed their speares to their Targettes, threatening to shedde their blood

bloud, which would couet the kingdom that pertained not to them. They reioiced that the force of the Empire should not be disperked, but still continue in the same family: the right of whose enheritance, coming of the bloud royall, they shewed themselves ready alwaies to defend. For by reason they were accustomed to haue y name of their king in such honour and veneration, they thought no man worthy for it, but such one as came thereunto by descent of bloud. Perdicas therfore was afraid, & with vi. C. men that wer of an approued manhoode, tooke vpon him to defende the place whereas the body of Alexander lay. Ptholomeus ioynded himselfe vnto him also, and the bande of the yong gentlemen that were about the kings person. But so many thousands of armed men as were vpon the other side, dyd easily breake in vpon them: Amongst whom y king was present with a great band of the gard about his person: wherof Seleager was chiefe. Perdicas therfore in a great fury, called such to his part as would defend Alexanders body: but many of them were sore hurte with dartes that were throwne from the contrary side. At length the auncient men plucked of their head peeces, (the better to be knowne) and desired them that were with Perdicas to abstain from ciuil war, and giue place to the king, and to the greater parte. Whereupon Perdicas was the first that laide downe his weapon, and the rest did in like manner.

Meleager then perswaded them that they should not departe, but remaine still about the deade corpes: but he iudging that to bee a deceite, and meane to entrappe him, fledde to a place on the further side of Euphrates lying ouer against the court. When the horsmen, which consisted chiefly of the nobilitie, flocked about Perdicas, and Leonatus, whose opinion was to departe out of the Citie, and take the fields: But because Perdicas was not without hope, that the footmen would haue taken his parte, hee remained styll within the Citie, least he might seeme to bee the cause that the horsmen should deuide themselves from the rest of the army. Meleager ceased not to beate in the kinges heade, that he could not establish himselfe surely in his estate, otherwise then by the death of Perdicas: whose ambitious minde, desirous of innouation, was (he said) to be preuented in time. He willed the king to remember what Perdicas had deserued at his handes, and that no man could be faithfull vnto him whome he feared. The king suffering the thing, rather then giuing his consent to the matter, Meleager tooke his silence for commaundement, and sent for Perdicas in the kings name: and they which were sente, had commission to kill him, if he made any sticking to come wyth them. Perdicas hearing of their coming, accompanied onely with sixtene yong gentlemen (accustomed to attende vpon Alexanders person) did meet them euen as they would haue entred into

into his lodging, and calling them Meleagers slaues, rebuked them with such a constancie of mind and countenance, that they returned back againe as men amazed. Perdicas willed such as were in his company to leape on horsebacke: and with a fewe of his frendes repayred vnto Leonatus, minding if any violence were moued against him to repulse it with a greater force. The next day the Macedons grudged, and dyd thinke it a matter unfitting, y^e Perdicas shoulde be brought in daunger of death after such a sort: and therefore determined with force to reuenge the rashnes of Meleagers doings. But he vnderstanding of the mutinie that was amongst the souldiers, gaue place: and they repayred to the king, demaunding of him if he had commanded Perdicas to be taken. He immediately confessed the thing: but it was done (he saide) by Meleagers motion, which he declared to bee no cause for them to make any stirre, seeing that Perdicas was aliue. The assembly hereupon brake vp and Meleager became greatly afraide, specially so astonted by the parting of the horsmen, that he wist not what to do: for he saw the mischief (which hee a little before had wrought agaynst his enemye) like to light vpon himselfe. And whilest he deuised this & that, thre daies were consumed and spent. The wonted forme and fashion of the Court, did remaine in the meane season. For the Embassadors of many Nations made repayre vnto the king: The Capitains of the

the army did assemble about him, and the garde wayted in armour, as they were accustomed. But the great sadnesse that was there without any apparant cause, signified some extreme dyspayre. There was such a suspition amongst the selues, that men durst not company together, nor speake one to another, but stode imagining secretly with themselves: and by comparing y^e time present with the time past, and the new king with the old, they began to desire him that was gone. When one enquired of another, wher he was become, whose fortune and authoritie they had followed: When they found themselves abandoned amongst so many wylde Nations, which were desirous vpon any occasion that might fall, to be reuenged of the iniuries they had receiued. Whylest they were troubled in these imaginations, worde was brought that the horsmen (which were vnder Perdicas) kept the fieldes about Babylon, and staied all victuals comming to the Citie. Wheruppon first began a scarcitie, and after wards a famine. Therefore such as were within the Citie, thought good eyther to make a reconciliation with Perdicas, or els to fight out the matter. It chanced that such as went abroad in the countrey, fearing y^e spoile of the villages, repaired into the citie. And they within the Citie, for lacke of victualles departed into the countrey. So that euerie one did think themselves surer any where, then in their owne habitations.

Then

Then the Macedons doubting some great inuenience that might come of this feare, assembled together in the Court, & shewed forth their opinions. It was agreed amongst them that Embassadors should be sent to the horsmen, for the surceasing of all strife & diuision. Darius a Thesalian, Amintas a Megapolitan, and Perelaus, were sent from the king: who declaring they^e commission, receiued answer that the horsmen would not seuer their power, till the authors of the sedition were deliuered into their handes. When they were returned, and their answer knowne, the souldiers without any appointmēt put on their armour, and made such a tumult, that the king was enforced to come forth of the Court, and say vnto them.

If wee shall bee at strife amongst our selues, our enemies that bee quiet, shall enioy the fruit of our contention. Remember that the quarrell is with your own countrey men, with whom if ye rashly breake the hope of reconciliation, ye shall bee the beginners of a ciuill warre: Let vs proue if the matter may be mitigated by an other Embassage. I am of opinion, that so much as Alexanders body remayneth yet vnburyed, they will gladly come together to performe the due obsequies to the dead. And for my parte, I had rather surrender vpon againe this dignitie, then any bloud should bee shed amongst my countrey men. For if no hope of concord doe remayne, I desire and pray you to make a better choise.

And with that word he wept, and pulling the Diademe from his head, and holding the same forth with his hande, ready to haue deliuered it to any mā that would haue slayned to be a eye

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worthy then he. The moderation that he used both in his words, and his behaviour, caused the all to conceiue a great good hope of his noble nature, which till that time, was obscured by his brothers fame. They therefore required and encouraged him to go forwardes in the matter, as he had deuised. Whereupon he sent againe for Embassadors the same men that went before: which had commission to require, that Heleager might be the third ruler of the men of war. That matter was not much sticke at: for Perdicas was desirous to remoue Heleager from the king, and thought that hee alone should not be able to match with Leonatus and him.

Upon this Heleager marched out of the Citie with the footemen: and Perdicas met him in the fields, riding before the bands of the horsemen. There both battails saluting one another, concord, peace, and amitie, was confirmed betwixt them for euer (as it was thought.) But it was decreed by destinie, that ciuill warres should rise amongst the Macedons. For gouernment is vnpatient of partners, & the kingdome was reuelted by many. Which as it first grew in force, so afterwards it was dispersed againe. For when the bodie was burdened with more heades then it could beare, the other members began to fayle. So the Empire of the Macedons which vnder one heade might well haue stood, when it was deuided into partes, fell to ruine. For that cause the people of Rome iustly must

confesse

confesse themselves bounde vnto the Prince, for the felicitie they haue founde: which as a starre in the night appeared then to them, that were nere lost: And as the sun gaue light to the world being in darknes, when without such a head the members that were at variance, must needs haue quailed: How many firebrands did he quench: how many swords ready drawn did he put vp againe: how great a tempest did he pacifie with the sodeine calme? The Empire now both ware greene and flourishing: Let me desire without enuy, that his house may continue many ages, & his posteritie remaine for euermore. But to returne againe to the order of the historie, from whence I was brought to the contemplation of our vniuersall felicitie: Perdicas indged the onely hope of his owne safegard, to consist in the death of Heleager: thinking it necessarie to preuente him being a man both variable, vnfaithfull, giuen to innouation, and besides his mortall enemy. But with deepe dissimulation he kept his purpose secrete, to the intent that with lesse difficultie, he might oppresse him vnawares. He did subornate therefore priuily certaine of the bandes vnder his rule, to complaine openly (as though it were without his knowledge) that Heleager shoulde be made equall vnto him in authoritie: which words of the souldiers when they were reported to Heleager, he became in a great rage, & declared they sayings to Perdicas: who seemed to wonder at y^e matter.

L. I.

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ter, blaming theyr doing, as though he had been
 soze for the thing: & finally they agreed, that the
 authors of such seditious words should be taken.
 When Meleager perceiued Perdicas so comfort-
 able, he embraced him, and gaue him thanks
 for his fidelitie and beneuolence. There by a con-
 sultation had betwixt them both, they deuysed
 howe to destroy such as wrought this diuision
 betwene them. For the bringing of that to passe
 they agreed, & the army should be purged accord-
 ing to their countrey custome. To the doing
 whereof, they seemed to haue a sufficient occasi-
 on, by reason of the late discord amongst them.
 The kings of Macedon in purifying of their soul-
 diers, were wont to vse a kind of ceremonie, di-
 uiding the bowels of a dog in two parts, and to
 cast the same into the uttermost boundes of the
 field, whereon they purposed to muster the ar-
 my. Where the men of warre accustomed to stand
 armed: both the horsemen, the mercenary soul-
 diers, and the Phalanx, euery one aparte. The
 same day that this ceremonie was put in execu-
 tion, the king stood in order of battaile with the
 horsemen & the Elephants against the footmen,
 of whome Meleager had the rule. When the
 troupes of horsemen began to moue, the footmen
 were stricken suddenly with feare: and by reason
 of the late discord, conceived a suspicion that the
 horsemen meant them no good. Wherefore they
 stood a while in a doubt, whether they should
 retyre into the Citie, or no, by reason that the
 fieldes

fieldes serued best for the horsemen. But least
 without cause they might condemne the fidelitie
 of their companions, stood still with a deter-
 minate minde to fight if any proffered them op-
 portunitie. When the battails were almost met to-
 gether, onely a smal distance left betwixt them,
 (whereby the one part was deuided from the o-
 ther) the king by the procuration of Perdicas,
 with a band of horsemen did ride along the footmen
 requyryng the deliuey of such to be executed, as
 were the authors of the discord: whom in verie
 deed, though hee ought to haue defended: yet if
 they refused thei deliuey, he threatened to bring
 against them both the horsemen and the Ele-
 phants. The footmen were amazed with the so-
 deinitie of the mischiese, which they looked not
 for: & there was no more counsaile nor courage
 in Meleager, then in the reste: but they all iudg-
 ed it most expedient for them, rather to abide the
 aduenture of that request, then further to hazard
 fortune. When Perdicas sawe them astonished &
 in feare, he seuered out to the number of 300. of
 such as followed Meleager, when he brake out
 of the assembly, that was first made after Alex-
 anders death: which in the sight of all the ar-
 my were cast to the Elephants, and there tram-
 pled to death with their feet, of which matter,
 Philip was neither the authour, nor the forbid-
 der: but thought to claime that for his own do-
 ing, which should appeare best in the ende. This
 was a signification and beginning vnto the Ma-
 cedons

editions of ciuill warres that ensued. Meleager
 understanding ouer late the sleight of that de-
 uise, because there was no violence offered vn-
 to his person, stode at the first quietly within the
 square: but shortly after, when he saw his ene-
 mies abusing to his destructiō, the name of him
 whō he had made king, he dispeired of his owne
 safegarde, and fled into a temple. But the religi-
 on of the place could not so defend him, but that
 he was there slain. Perdicas hereupon brought
 againe the army into the Citie: and calling a
 counsell of all the principall personages, it was
 agreed so to deuide the Empire, that the king
 should remaine as chiefe of the whole: Ptholo-
 meus to be lieuetenant in Egypt and Affricke,
 and to haue the rule of the Nations there, that
 were vnder the Macedons dominion. Siria &
 Phenices were appointed to Laomedon, Cili-
 cia to Philotas. Licia, with Pamphilia, and the
 greater Phrygia, were assigned to Antigonus.
 Cassander was sent into Caria, and Menander
 into Cibia. The lesser Phrygia, that ioyned vnto
 Hellespont, was Leonatus prouince. Cephenes
 had Cappadocia, and Paphlagonia, who was
 commaunded to defende that countrey so far as
 Trapezunt, and make war to Ariaraches, who
 onely remained enemy to the Empire. Medea
 was appointed to Pythou, and Thrace to Lisi-
 machus, with other Nations therabouts, borde-
 ring vppon the Sea of Pōnte. It was ordained
 also that such as should bee presidentes amongst
 the

the Indians, Bactrians, Scythians, and other
 Nations lying vppon the Ocean and red Seas,
 shoulde in matter of iustice bee regall iurisdic-
 tion. It was agreed that Perdicas should remaine
 with the king, and haue the gouernance of the
 men of warre that followed him. Some beleue
 that these prouinces were distributed by Alex-
 anders testament: but we haue found the same
 to be false, though some autho. doe witnesse the
 same. The Emperre being deuided into partes,
 euerie one might well haue defended his porti-
 on, if any bounds could containe mens immode-
 rate desires: or if they being but ministers vn-
 to a king, when vnder the colour of the admini-
 stration of an others dominion they had encro-
 ched into so great kingdomes, could haue aucy-
 ded the occasions of warre, seeing they were all
 of one Nation, and had their countreys appoy-
 ned out by limits. But it is hard for men to bee
 contented with that they haue in their possessiō,
 when occasion is proffered them of more. For y
 first thinges alwaies appeere of no value, when
 men be in hope of greater thinges to come. So y
 euerie one of them thought it an easier matter
 to increase his kingdome, then it was to get it
 at the first. Alexanders bodie in the meane sea-
 son lay seuen dayes vnburyed: for whilest eue-
 rie man had care vppon the establishing of the
 state, their minds were draune from the tuing
 of that solempne office. There is no Countrey
 more feruent of heate then Mesopotamia. For
 the

the sun there burneth so hot, that it killeth the beasts that be without couert, & burneth vp all things as it were with fire. And to the increase thereof, there be few springs of water, and the inhabitors vse such pollicie in hiding those they haue, that straungers can haue no vse of them: This notwithstanding, when Alexanders friends had gottē leysure to take care of the dead corpes, and came to visite the same, they found it without infection, corruption, or chaunge of colour: y^e same cheeresfulness which consisteth of the spirit, not being yet departed out of his countenaunce. When the Egyptians & the Caldeis were commaunded to dresse his body after their maner: who at the first (as though he had bene aliue) feared to put their hāds to him. But afterwards making their praiers that it might bee lawfull for mortall men to touch him, they purged hys bodie, and filled it with swete odors: And afterwards laid him vpon a hearse of gold, & set a dyademe vpon his head. Many thought that he died of poyson, & that Jolla, Antipaters sonne, being one of his ministers, had giuen him the same. Alexander oftentimes would say, that Antipater coueted the estate of a king, affecting more greatnes: then pertained to a lieuetenant, & that through glozie of the victorie he had gotten of y^e Lacedemonians, was become so proud, that he claymed all things committed to him as his own. It is thought also that Craterus was sente to kill him, with those old souldiers that were dis-

missed

missed. It is certeine that there is a poyson in Macedon, founde in a water called Susstiges, of such force, that it consumeth iron, & wil not be contained in any thing, sauing in the hoofe of a horse or mule: which poyson was brought by Cassander, & deliuered to his brother Jolla, who presented it in the drinke y^e the king last dronke. Howsoeuer these things be reported, the power of them on whom the rumour went, shortly after oppressed y^e infamy. For Antipater became king both of Macedon & Greece, and his childer after him: which put to death all such as were any thing nere of kin vnto Alexander. Ptholomeus (which had the rule of Egypt) conueied Alexanders body to Memphis, which within fewe yeres after was remoued to Alexandria, whereas all honour is giuen to the memozy of him, and to hys name.

FINIS.